

**BRIDGING THE GAP: TOWARDS A COSMOPOLITAN ORIENTATION IN THE
SOCIAL STUDIES CURRICULUM IN SASKATCHEWAN HIGH SCHOOLS**

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By

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Abstract

Vital to Canadian social and cultural cohesion in a globalized world is an urgent need to enact new social and educational discourses and initiatives essential to expand an understanding of our interconnected relationships that coalesce with the key tenets of cosmopolitanism. Cosmopolitanism is a theory that endorses a sense of global responsibility and connectedness, respect for human rights and difference inside and outside our borders, and detachment from our communal, national, religious, ethnic, as well as other forms of particularities. The purpose of this qualitative case study is to investigate to what extent the social studies curriculum in grades 9, 10, 11, and 12 in Saskatchewan integrates or reflects cosmopolitan perspectives in an increasingly interconnected world. Thus, data collection consists of content analysis of the Saskatchewan curriculum and five interviews with social studies teachers in Saskatchewan high schools. Data analysis is guided by the literature review on cosmopolitanism that operates as the theoretical framework of this study and by critical discourse analysis. This research contributes to our understanding of what cosmopolitan education can offer in terms of possibilities to the social, cultural, educational, and political configurations of Canadian society. Emphasis is also on the need for future implementation of courses focusing on cosmopolitanism in higher education to raise awareness among students, prospective teachers, policy makers, curriculum designers, educational administrators, and government agencies about cosmopolitanism as an active agency to alleviate social ills. In conclusion, I offer suggestions for strengthening the social studies curriculum in Saskatchewan high schools to promote cosmopolitan values. Thus, the significance of the study lies in its theoretical and practical implications for social and educational policies in Canada and internationally.

Keywords: cosmopolitanism, multiculturalism, globalization, critical discourse analysis, critical theory, citizenship education, global ethics, curriculum studies, teacher education

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CHAPTER I: Introduction

“Utopian” does not here connote a flight from reality into a realm of totally unrealizable, fantastic perfection. The Utopian attitude is not that of the impractical daydreamer who cannot bear to face the hard problems of his own day or his immediate environment. The vision of utopianism is, rather, a realizable one—a vision of what can be and should be attained in order that man may be happier, more rational, more humane than he has ever been.

(Brameld, 1956, pp. 24-25)

As many scholars observe, we live in an increasingly interconnected and interrelated world at all levels of society: socially, economically, educationally, culturally, and politically. Advanced technology that increasingly facilitates all aspects of social relationships is one reason. These aspects include the rapid transmission of information, networking with people around the globe, interracial marriages, international education, international trading, and production and mobility. However, we also live in an historically aggressive and violent world in which violation of human rights, suppression, racism, atrocities, raging wars in many corners of the planet, increased poverty, and displaced refugees are prevalent everywhere. Moreover, the global scale of these encounters has a great potential to generate competing claims that create contradictions, mobilization, protest, and innovation among actors in this world-culture. Consequently, the “greater good becomes possible and likely but so too does greater evil, as good and evil become more derivative of world culture and therefore of greater scale than in earlier times” (Meyer, Boli, Thomas, & Ramirez, 1997, p. 173). Further, Papastephanou (2002) observes that “past (and often contemporary) cross-cultural encounters involve at least two chief elements: an exchange of cultural material but also violence, aggression and pain” (p. 79). When cross-cultural encounters involve historical injustices, commitments to reconciliation and cultural responsibility are conditions for justice and peace (Papastephanou, 2002). When cross-cultural encounters are indicative of global connectivity and interdependence in various ways, a commitment to ethical engagement in intercultural and social relations across boundaries needs to be cultivated (Rizvi, 2009). Education appears to be the obvious vehicle to develop this commitment to ethical engagement and reconciliation.

In addition, due to the benefits of advanced technology, global connectivity in all its forms is a great source for activating individual agency that has the potential to turn into a

collective effort, locally and globally, that can alleviate social ills such as violation of human rights, oppression, discrimination, social and global inequalities, and the like. Through social media, local problems are becoming national and global. A violation of one's right in a particular community can be broadcast quickly and widely, pressing people across nations and the globe to provide their support morally, psychologically, politically, and financially. One example that illustrates this claim is the Idle No More movement that started in Saskatchewan Canada and quickly attracted international attention. Another example is the assassination attempt of the Pakistani young girl named Malala Yousafzai for promoting education for girls in her country. On the other hand, this same global connectivity can be misused to incite hatred, discrimination, and racism that could spread nationally and across the globe. The divisive rhetoric and the blatant racist views of the Republican front-runner Donald Trump, which were widely broadcast during the 2016-presidential campaign in the US, are evidence of this claim.

Considering this contradictory reality of the world we live in where the balance is by far tipped towards a violent world, cosmopolitanism or any ethical perspective for the establishment of harmony and peace among fellow human beings is welcome, but seems utopian and imaginary. It remains mostly the focus of theoretical debates among scholars with a narrow window of hope for its application at various levels. However, it is this narrow window of hope paralleled with a few successful practical implications of ethical perspectives in particular contexts that seems to keep encouraging the efforts of many scholars, activists, social movements, and the like, to widen the circle of these implications where they can be effective and to connect the ones existing in various places.

This dissertation seeks to emphasize that the global nature of contemporary problems and the interdependence between individuals, peoples, and states (Beardsworth, 2011) necessitate a cosmopolitan orientation in addressing social, cultural, educational, political, and behavioral issues to support harmonious living. When rightly conceived, a proposal for a cosmopolitan orientation attending to our interrelated relationships and problems in a diverse world has the potential to facilitate the transcendence of the boundaries of ideal aspirations into the realm of the reality that surrounds us (Lu, 2000).

Cosmopolitanism is mainly invoked, with a different focus, in its relation to the idea of humanity, universalism, human rights, global citizenship, pluralism, cross-cultural understanding, belonging, justice in the world, ethical thinking and practices (Todd, 2009).

Cosmopolitanism is also a universal concept that “can find fertile soil in many cultures and many contexts” and is not “exclusively ‘Western’” (Vertovec & Cohen, 2002/2008, p. 16).

Koczanowicz (2010) notes that cosmopolitanism is hindered by many controversies and ambiguities involving many related concepts. Broadly stated, moral cosmopolitanism acknowledges allegiance and loyalties to our fellow human beings based on our shared humanity, unconstrained by our communal particularities (Nussbaum, 1996/2002; Held, 2010; Van Hooft, 2009). Cultural cosmopolitanism entails loyalty to our cultural ascriptions. The values of our culture influence the way we act, think, and feel. Thus, cultural cosmopolitanism endorses a reflective distance from these values as well as receptiveness and interest in differences (Appiah, 2006).

Recently, there has been scholarly interest in exploring the role of education in fostering cosmopolitan thinking. This has given rise to a debate about the purposes, limitations, and possibilities of a cosmopolitan education (See Nussbaum 1996/2002; Heater, 2002; Saito, 2010; Todd, 2009; Popkewitz, 2008; Hansen, 2008a, 2008b, 2010b; Rizvi, 2009; Gunesch, 2004; McDonough & Feinberg, 2003/2007; Papastephanou, 2002, 2005). Education is a “civilizing force” that has the potential to engage us in creating a better world, fostering moral thinking and nurturing our care for others (Todd, 2009, p. 1). As Apple reminds us, “education has been and is a truly powerful arena for building coalitions and movements [for social justice], one whose social effects can echo throughout society” (2015, p. 307). It is also “so central to human social experience, to our direct and indirect relations with other people” that it expands our understandings of the underlying beliefs, values, ideologies, and democratic practices of a particular society (Wotherspoon, 2014, p. 2). On the other hand, schools function as sites for reproduction of inequalities, the maintenance of a stratified society, and the exercise of ideological hegemony through “conscious manipulation of schooling” to serve the interests of the dominant group (Apple, 2004, p. 3). In terms of cosmopolitan education, educational researchers have not sufficiently grounded their research in empirical realities that are shaped by the political, cultural, social, and economic circumstances surrounding the students inside the classroom while teaching diversity of the world (Saito, 2010). Moreover, most of them have not yet reached agreement about the significance of a cosmopolitan education (Hansen, 2008a).

This dissertation, therefore, is a contribution to the potentials and possibilities embedded in a cosmopolitan education. Its central goal is to promote the quest for nurturing peaceful habits

of coexistence in the creation of a better future characterized by cosmopolitan thinking. It takes into consideration the various aspects of the social life of students, within and beyond boundaries and categories of difference. In other words, the version of cosmopolitanism adopted in this study mainly pivots around its moral and cultural aspects. Moral and cultural aspects underlie our increasingly interrelated relationships at various levels of society, historically, politically, economically, socially, and culturally.

It is essential to take into account the intersections of moral and cultural cosmopolitanism with other conceptions of this concept. The literature review serves to highlight this position, its potentialities, critiques, and limits. I take up the social studies formal curriculum of grades 9, 10, 11, and 12 in Saskatchewan high schools as a case study to serve that purpose. In addition, I examine potential spaces in this curriculum to strengthen it from a cosmopolitan perspective as highlighted in the review of the literature. To verify, I interviewed Saskatchewan high school social studies teachers to understand how they evaluate the formal curriculum and whether they relate its purposes to fostering a cosmopolitan education that is grounded in Saskatchewan social realities.

It is important from the outset to recognize that the concept of cosmopolitanism itself has a number of fault lines that “present us with a number of ambivalences, paradoxes, and tensions that no cosmopolitanism ... can fully address” (Todd, 2009, p. 31). Therefore, by no means is this dissertation a glorification of the potentialities of cosmopolitanism and cosmopolitan education, nor an arrogant stand towards Others and their cultures. Anderson (1998) warns us against the dangers of new formulations of cosmopolitanism by arguing that “the narrowly ethical versions can sometimes appear to overemphasize a heroicized individual cultivating its relation to otherness and to global diversity” (p. 286). Pinsky (1996/2002) points out that the views of advocates of universal cosmopolitanism are local, belonging to the “village of the liberal managerial class” (p. 87). His reference is to scholars, such as Martha Nussbaum, a prominent advocate of universal cosmopolitanism, who are associated with various agencies including the United Nations (UN). Pinsky (1996/2002) wants us to pay attention to “the arrogance that would correct *your* provinciality with the cosmopolitanism of *my terms*” (p. 88, emphasis in original). Taking into consideration these arguments, and joining the efforts of many scholars whose work contributes to the development of this dissertation, I will explore the possibilities and potentials of a cosmopolitan orientation in education by taking a critical

orientation that is feasible in transforming the world for the better, however modestly, and the least tainted by Western ideologies. I agree with Lu (2000) that all ethical perspectives can be corruptible and place a moral danger on humanity when wrongly conceived. When rightly understood, they contribute to the welfare of humanity.

One caveat should be noted. Waks (2009) argues that it is unlikely that all proponents of cosmopolitanism would agree on a “cosmopolitan *common* curriculum” despite the fact that they may be focusing on the same issue, namely, diversity within close proximity (p. 589). I do not expect that the findings of this study would call for a common curriculum on cosmopolitanism across Canadian provinces, let alone across boundaries and categories. As Saito (2010) states, “cosmopolitan education does not have to posit ‘global civil society’ as some monolithic and all-encompassing entity” (p. 347) because cosmopolitanism is a dynamic concept with evolving and differing notions at particular times and places (Rizvi, 2009; Hansen, 2010a). My intention is that this study would adequately address this concern. However, it remains evident after reviewing the literature that there is an urgent need for empirically-grounded research addressing differentiated cosmopolitan curriculum in particular contexts.

Another caveat is also noted. I concur with many cosmopolitan thinkers that cosmopolitanism is not a panacea to all the ills that are currently prevalent in contemporary society. Rather, it is a concept that has great potential to bring about significant positive relationships locally, nationally, and globally, when rightly conceived and applied in the public and private realms of society. These positive attitudes include open-mindedness, progress towards social and global justice and equality, respect for human rights, freedom from prejudices and discrimination, and national and global intercultural communication. It is clear that at this point in time, in a world that is fragmented with raging wars in many regions, that cosmopolitanism is not positioned to affect humanity and the world at large. Yet, it has the potential to positively influence particular societies and relationships. A limited approach to cosmopolitanism appears oxymoronic because the core element of the cosmopolitan discourse is humanity at large. However, the contradictory and complex reality of our world necessitates a negotiation of its meaning at this time to maximize its feasibility and desirability. Thus, the cosmopolitan hope remains that this concept will keep on expanding continuously to better the world by overcoming its challenges and understanding its limitations.

Statement of Purpose

The purpose of this qualitative case study is to investigate to what extent the social studies curriculum in grades 9, 10, 11, and 12 in Saskatchewan high schools integrates or reflects cosmopolitan perspectives in an increasingly interconnected world. The study aims to identify intersections and gaps between the current social studies curriculum and a cosmopolitan education. Data collection consists of content analysis of the provincial curriculum and five semi-structured interviews with social studies teachers in Saskatchewan high schools. The experiences of high school teachers with the social studies curriculum are an important contribution to this research project as they reflect how these teachers interpret the curriculum and its potential to shape the students' interconnected relationships in a diverse world. The literature review on cosmopolitanism forms the theoretical framework for this study. The data analysis is guided by this literature and by critical discourse analysis.

Research Questions

The vast and ever-growing literature on cosmopolitanism and recently on cosmopolitan education suggests that current educational approaches to citizenship and diversity need to be revised to address our interconnected relationships at all levels of society in order to cultivate better citizens in this globalized world. This implies that current educational curricula, particularly social studies, do not fully address our current realities and its associated problems, be it socially, culturally, political, or morally. Nor does it promote citizenship education that builds a genuine inclusive and peaceful society across boundaries and categories of difference. This research suggests that it is time to revise the social studies curriculum in Saskatchewan high schools by implementing features of cosmopolitan education as a potential alternative in fostering harmonious living locally, nationally, and globally. In this case, the dissertation examines whether the social studies curriculum in Saskatchewan high schools already reflects aspects of cosmopolitan education. The study seeks to identify potential spaces to strengthen it from a cosmopolitan perspective. Therefore, the following questions guide the research process.

Research Question 1: To what extent does the Saskatchewan high school social studies curriculum integrate and reflect a cosmopolitan orientation?

This question aims at identifying gaps in the social studies curriculum in both theoretical and practical terms. A critical discourse analysis in conjunction with the curriculum and interviews with social studies teachers are essential to respond to this question.

Research Question 2: How can the social studies curriculum in Saskatchewan high schools be infused with more cosmopolitan perspectives?

This question anticipates the findings. It suggests that there is a gap between the social studies curriculum and cosmopolitan education, a gap that needs to be addressed in order to implement an education that promotes the development of ‘citizens of the world.’ Specifically, it focuses on the premise that the curriculum might be embedded with cosmopolitan elements, which need to be identified and acknowledged. It also implies that the implementation of a cosmopolitan education in the curriculum is not a straightforward process. There might be limitations and challenges in incorporating cosmopolitan perspectives.

Rationale for the Study

This study attempts to fulfill several gaps identified in the literature on cosmopolitanism. First, Hansen (2010b) observes that few scholars have addressed the implications of cosmopolitanism in education. He states, “there are virtually no published studies that deploy a systematic cosmopolitan frame of analysis in conjunction with qualitative or quantitative research” (p. 1). Hansen points out that Beck and Sznaider’s (2006) bibliography on cosmopolitanism has not included “one entry directly devoted to education” (p. 2). Though some qualitative studies have been recently published (Lamont & Aksartova, 2002; Osler & Starkey, 2003; Skrbis & Woodward, 2007; Saito, 2010; Sfeir, 2015), there is still a great shortage in this domain.

Further, Todd (2009) observes that the literature on cosmopolitanism in education mirrors the divide between two main strands of cosmopolitanism: classical cosmopolitanism with its emphasis on universalism and new cosmopolitanism with its emphasis on plurality. Todd (2009) notes, “what is curious about most educational initiatives is that they reflect more clearly the classical strand of cosmopolitan thought, leaving discussions of ‘actually existing cosmopolitanisms’ largely to the side” (p. 29). Similarly, Saito (2010) urges educational researchers to conduct more empirically-grounded debate on cosmopolitan education rather than focusing on theoretical debates.

Moreover, Heater (2002) emphasizes that there is urgent need for an education in support of cosmopolitan citizenship to face the ethical decline manifested in “ignorance and apathy” towards public and global issues (p. 156). This ethical decline is not only obvious in underdeveloped countries, but also in the most advanced ones, Heater (2002) asserts. Similarly,

Nussbaum (1996/2002) urges for a civic education that eschews parochial affiliations and cultivates care and obligations towards humanity as a whole.

With the rapid, extensive and complex global migration movements amid the multiple and complex identities of people throughout the world, the goals of citizenship education in fostering national commitments and identities are no longer consistent with this increasingly diversified world (Banks, 2008). It is necessary that our understanding of citizenship shift from its traditional legal meaning as defined by Marshall (1964) as well as its multicultural meaning towards an understanding that includes various intercultural and global responsibilities at all levels to promote social justice and equality (Banks, 2008).

Significance of the Study

The significance of the study lies in its theoretical and practical potential to contribute to the debate on cosmopolitanism and cosmopolitan education. Notably, this study is also significant for international education because of the similarity of discussions around issues related to globalization, inter-cultural encounters, cultural competence, cultural awareness, the politics of identity, belonging, and nationalism, among others. New perspectives may emerge that are pertinent to curriculum developers and policy makers who are interested in steering education towards more inclusivity with cosmopolitan sensibilities. Further, this research has a comparative advantage. The findings are expected to be relevant to social studies curricula across Canadian provinces and possibly other countries worldwide.

More specifically, the significance of this research lies in its potential to urge and direct the revision of the formal social studies curriculum in Saskatchewan high schools that is outdated, discriminatory, and exclusionary. This curriculum is marred by deficits in its approach in interpreting Aboriginal issues, its eradication of the existence of pluralism in Canada, and its heavy-handed neoliberal, and neoconservative ideologies, as this research demonstrates. Thus, this study offers suggestions to revise and improve this curriculum to prepare students to be active participants in establishing networks that build peaceful and inclusive relationships with each other along axes of gender, nationality, class, race, sexual orientation, religion, and other attributes. The study also makes a contribution to teacher education programs by bringing awareness of cosmopolitan values and sensibilities in the preparation of prospective teachers.

Positionality of the Researcher

I am committed to further disseminate knowledge about the potentials of cosmopolitanism and cosmopolitan education. I suggest that it is time for a critical stance towards our interconnected relationships and understanding of citizenship to avoid the pitfalls of educational approaches that harbor exclusionary, divisive, and nationalistic perspectives.

My personal experience with groups of various backgrounds with respect to religion, language, sexual orientation, race, ethnicity, culture, gender, and class have forced me to revise and negotiate my own prior assumptions and adopt a more broadminded perspective towards the Other. Growing up in Lebanon, I witnessed years of wars, divisiveness, and atrocities committed by various groups in the name of religion, ethnic origin, sexual orientation, and class warfare. Those atrocities were and still are fueled by geopolitical interests that are too complicated to be even touched upon in this dissertation. In Lebanon, I have also witnessed that reconciliation, when genuinely supported, can take place between groups who suffered massacres at the hands of each other. However, revival of historical hatred and animosity can spark again when they are subjected to manipulation.

I have also travelled to many places and have been living in Canada for nineteen years. Therefore, I have been in contact, closely and at a distance, with people from varied backgrounds. In Quebec, I taught English as a Second Language to immigrant groups and listened to their struggles with finding a job in the host country or socializing with the mainstream population. I have also taught English to a group of French Quebecers who were finding it difficult to engage with the Other, particularly those from different cultures or religions. As soon as I moved to Saskatchewan, I immediately became aware of a strong divide between the east and west of the city, a divide that is demarcated geographically, socially, economically, educationally, politically, and culturally. It is in Saskatoon that I developed a critical awareness of the entrenched marginalization of Aboriginal peoples at all levels of our society.

This witnessing of discrimination, marginalization, oppression, injustices, and dehumanization of the Other in the name of different categorizations has developed in me a critical stance towards interactions and relationships with my surroundings, a stance that challenges normalization of attitudes, practices, and the politics of identity. My research on

cosmopolitanism and cosmopolitan education expresses my commitment to such a stance personally, educationally, socially, and practically.

My positionality in this research also fits the criteria described by Van Hooft (2009). In stating his stance regarding his conception of cosmopolitanism and its relation to human rights, he asserts that:

We should not imperialistically impose our own commitments as if they were universally valid. But nor should we accept that the evils that foreigners do is of no concern to us on the basis of a pluralist stance that sees moral norms as deriving only from local traditions. (p. 7)

This stance also fits the criteria for a critical research analyst described by Jäger and Maier (2009): My critique is located within the discourse of cosmopolitanism and not outside of it. The values, beliefs, universal human rights, and ethical norms I appeal to “have been discursively constructed” and are a “result of discursive practices” (p. 36).

First and foremost, I take into consideration Heater’s (2002) argument that an effective implementation of cosmopolitan education requires that teachers follow a moderate approach to education. This approach neither adopts a utopian optimism that schools are able to nurture a cosmopolitan education to its fullest nor surrenders to the notion that education cannot make a progress towards cosmopolitanism in a world that is characterized by injustice, hatred, and violence.

Limitations of the Study

I acknowledge several limitations to this research. First, I did not include interviews with high school students. Students, particularly from diverse cultural and religious backgrounds, can shed light on issues in the curriculum that might go undetected by high school teachers and myself. Further, the potential outcomes of this research are by no mean conclusive, or complete solutions to many social, cultural, and political problems tackled in the curriculum. Qualitative studies, as Shields (2007) rightly states,

do not attempt to eliminate what cannot be discounted. They do not attempt to simplify what cannot be simplified. Thus, it is precisely because case study includes paradoxes and acknowledges that there are no simple answers, that it can and should qualify as the gold standard. (as cited in Merriam, 2009, pp. 52-53)

Thus, this research is a contribution to the debate on cosmopolitanism and the purposes of social studies education in Saskatchewan high schools.

Furthermore, I do not claim that the outcomes of this study can be widely generalized across provinces. On one hand, the small sample of five participants is not truly representative of all social studies teachers in Saskatchewan, let alone across provinces. Social studies teachers are heterogeneous in terms of holding educational, social, and political perspectives and in terms of belonging to diverse cultural, ethnic, linguistic, and religious groups. Thus, future research across Canada is required to address this limitation.

The Canadian Context

To understand how cosmopolitanism could operate in Canada, it is essential to explore the dynamics of the Canadian context socially, politically, and educationally. These dynamics are historically rooted in Canadian society in a complex way. An understanding of Canada's politics of inclusion and exclusion, race and culture, national and multicultural identity, tolerance and myth of tolerance, White prejudice and openness to diversity, rural and urban perceptions of culture and identity, and national and international identity and politics is a challenging task and beyond the purview of this work. Therefore, I highlight only the characteristics of the Canadian context that are relevant and sufficient for the arguments in this research. I focus on the province of Saskatchewan to understand some of the various contextual dynamics that underlie the orientation of its current social studies curriculum and, to a lesser extent, the experiences of teacher-participants. I chose to analyze Saskatchewan's Social Studies curriculum for the following reasons. First, I live in this province and want to understand its approach to education. Second, I did not come across any other study that provides a detailed analysis of this curriculum. Third, the research is consistent with a move to recognizing the importance of studying what transpires in the local context, both for its own sake and for its relation to what transpires in the rest of the world.

Before I proceed, one caveat should be noted. Cosmopolitanism in Canada should be understood as a long-term transformative struggle across generations and geography. It will likely wax and wane unpredictably in different regional contexts at different times along numerous forms of contestations, contradictions, and ambiguities. As Hansen (2010b) puts it, "it is phasic" (p. 4). Arguably, my assumption is that cosmopolitanism has the potential to better flourish in the public realm in Canada across provinces than in most countries. The reason

underlying this assumption is that its predecessor multiculturalism is formally recognized in Canada (Wotherspoon, 2014) and is an essential characteristic of its national identity as it is composed of Indigenous groups and national minorities (Joppke, 2004). In some European countries, multiculturalism encompasses solely immigrant groups and has recently been scaled down tremendously as an official policy in a shift towards civic integration (p. 247). Further, public racialized discourses against immigrant groups that are taking place in United States and some European countries are “*somewhat muted in Canada*” (Wotherspoon, 2014, p. 136, emphasis mine).

Since 1900, the continuous influx of immigrants into Canada brought a social phenomenon known as multiculturalism long before the Pierre Trudeau government adopted multiculturalism as a public policy in 1971 (Cuccioletta, 2001/2002). Currently, Canada’s economic strength is dependent on immigration due to the low childbirth rate. Immigrants are considered as a workforce asset that is essential to maintain Canada’s social services and hence its standard of living (Ungerleider, 2007). Due to the fact that Canada has to keep this influx going for its survival, a successful system for the integration of immigrants needs to be continuously maintained (Ungerleider, 2007). Otherwise, racial diversity might undermine Canada’s social cohesion when diverse groups experience inequality and discrimination affecting their social integration and sense of fairness (Reitz & Banerjee, 2007).

Several policies have been adopted to sustain a mostly successful integration of immigrants in Canada. For example, Treaty rights of Aboriginal peoples are acknowledged in the Constitution (Kymlicka, 2003) and as far back as the Royal Proclamation of 1763 (Ungerleider, 2007). The Canadian Human Rights Act (1985) promotes equality of opportunity to all Canadians by ensuring their protection from discrimination based on race, religion, nationality, color, ethnicity, sex, sexual orientations, disability, and family status, among others. Further, Canada is the only Western country that has officially adopted multiculturalism in its Constitution (Kymlicka, 2003) with Saskatchewan being the first province to enshrine a provincial Multicultural Act in 1974 (Chan, 2007). The Multiculturalism Act (1988) was aimed at eliminating racial and ethnic discrimination by fostering equality of opportunity and participation for all Canadian citizens in addition to the recognition of cultural diversity (Ghosh, 2004). Multiculturalism has contributed to the development of different educational stages from

accommodation to incorporation, and then to integration and empowerment each with its flaws and strengths across provinces (Ghosh, 2004).

According to Kymlicka (2008), most Canadians today value multiculturalism as an important and beneficial integration policy that fosters pride in Canada among both native born-Canadians and immigrants who enjoy mutual identifications. Multiculturalism in Canada helps facilitate the integration of immigrants into the Canadian political system as voters, members of political parties, and active participants in the political process. Kymlicka (2008) asserts that almost all urban Canadian neighborhoods enjoy a co-ethnic aspect rather than ethnic and religious ghettos. He further states that the children of immigrants in Canada are performing better educationally than immigrant children in other Western nations. This claim is also reconfirmed by the *International Report Card on Public Education: Key facts on Canadian Achievement and Equity* (Parkin, 2015).

However, Reitz and Banerjee (2007) criticize the belief that holds that “official policies on multiculturalism and human rights are seen as sufficient to maintain what most Canadians would describe as a favorable environment for immigrants and minority groups, particularly by international standards” (p. 499). They demonstrate that racial minorities are experiencing increased difficulties and challenges as they are facing inequality, discrimination, glass ceiling in some federal departments, earnings disadvantages, and many other economic and social barriers. In reference to several research findings across Canada, Wotherspoon (2014) points out the persistence of racism against minority groups. This racism is manifested in different ways. These include physical attacks, name-calling, verbal abuse, exclusion of Aboriginal knowledge in the curriculum, marginalizing and silencing of Aboriginal teachers, and lower expectations of educational attainment for Aboriginal students. Moreover, the 2015 Report Card on Child and Family Poverty in Canada reveals the persistence of poverty in Canada among newcomers, Indigenous children (40% live in poverty), people with disability, racialized individuals, and single mothers (*Campaign 2000*, 2015, p. 4).

Further, some critics of multiculturalism argue that this policy strengthens cultural differences and leads to balkanization rather than social cohesion based on shared Canadian citizenship, identity, and rights (Kymlicka, 2008). This is clearly the case in Quebec where multiculturalism is opposed by the French-Quebecois Nationalists. The French in Quebec could not accept that their status be equated with the status of other cultures in Canada; consequently,

they refused multiculturalism and replaced it by interculturalism with the French language as the means to assimilate immigrants and establish a homogenous Francophone identity (Ghosh, 2004). Other critics of the Canadian federal policy of multiculturalism argue that politicians seek to win the immigrants' votes by advocating multicultural programs with the hidden agenda of assimilation, while others see multiculturalism as a threat to social cohesion when cultural group identification rises (Ungerleider, 2007). Kymlicka (2007) states that while minority groups have access to a political space that provides them with the opportunity to challenge their subordination against British or French Canadians, they exercise racism and superiority against other groups. For example, some members of East Asian groups in Canada are highly racist against Aboriginal peoples and Black people. These same members strongly object to any racism they face by English or French Canadians.

Further, Mackey argues that "Canada's myth of tolerance" is used "as a weapon to deny the claims and experiences of First Nations people" (2002, p. xvi). By drawing on Bannerji (1996), Mackey (2002) holds that English Canada uses multiculturalism as a political instrument that turns "multicultural and Aboriginal 'others'" into "necessary weapons in the war" between the French and English (pp. 15-16). As such, English Canada could "reaffirm its superior tolerance" and its status as being less racist towards Aboriginal peoples than Québec (Mackey, 2002, p. 14). On the other hand, a search for a pan-Canadian identity after the separation movement in Québec was aimed at dismantling the "centrality of Britishness in Canada, to make room for the Québécois" (Kymlicka, 2003, p. 377).

The debate between those who support the argument that multiculturalism has facilitated immigrant integration and those who strongly argue that multiculturalism has actually fostered divisions in Canadian society is of significant interest for this study. This debate about the state of multiculturalism in Canada highlights that in reality Canada is still grappling with how to deal with its diversity, define its national identity, embrace reconciliation with its Aboriginal peoples, and foster social cohesion, justice, and equality of opportunity, among its Aboriginal peoples, Canadians of British origin, French Francophone, and various immigrant groups. Multiculturalism in Canada is neither ruled out as a disastrous policy nor hailed as the ideal that brings about cultural harmonization and peaceful encounters with the Other. Therefore, as the title of this research implies, there is a need to bridge the gap between multiculturalism and cosmopolitanism.

Kymlicka (2008) notes some commentators suggest a need to construct a Canadian identity that transcends all “particularistic sub-group identities” (p. 376). People in Canada often construct their identity in a hyphenated way such as Ukrainian-Canadian, Chinese-Canadian, and so forth, except for the privileged Whites from European settlers’ ancestry, mainly British and French (Mackey, 2002). Most French Quebecers identify themselves as Quebecois rather than Canadians (Kymlicka, 2003). Some Canadians today identify themselves as “ordinary Canadians” who perceive themselves as oppressed by Canada’s policy of multiculturalism (Mackey, 2002, p. 20). This notion of “ordinary Canadian” who is mostly “white, heterosexual, middle-class male” is indicative of a “neo-conservative ideal Canadian citizen” and has political implications for the construction of Canadian identity (Brodie, 1995, as cited in Mackey, 2002, p. 20). It aims to marginalize others in social policy and public culture. On the other hand, Canadians invoke a particular identity at a particular time when asked about their sense of belonging to Canada; identity is constructed, controversial, relational, overlapping, and multi-level (Kymlicka, 2003, p. 383). Kymlicka (2007) strongly suggests that all Canadians have to embrace the language of civil liberties and human rights.

Globally, Canadians are also proud of their Canadianness. They see themselves as “citizens of the world” (Kymlicka, 2003, p. 358). They have contributed to the world as UN peacekeepers, are known as “honest brokers” on the world stage, and are supporters of international organizations, such as the International Criminal Court (p. 358). It is important to consider this international reputation of Canada “as a national character trait” because ignoring our global responsibility is considered “unCanadian,” Kymlicka asserts (2003, p. 358). Here it seems that Kymlicka is connecting cosmopolitan responsibilities to national identities. He maintains that it is this strong identification with one’s national identity and the belief in its honorable character that act as a source of motivation for its people to participate in cosmopolitan responsibilities such as supporting humanitarian aid efforts. As evidence of this internationally respected Canadian reputation, Kymlicka (2003) provides some examples that are worth narrating here as they embody cosmopolitan values such as global peace, respect, and trust of the citizens of the world. Teenagers have been advised to have the Canadian flag on their backpack when travelling abroad to receive a welcoming reception. A TV advertisement depicts Canadian astronauts walking on a planet. Suddenly, dangerous aliens with their weapons pointed at the astronauts encircle them. The astronauts turn around to show the Canadian flag on their

uniform. “The aliens then drop their guns, give the ‘thumbs up’ signal, and embrace the Canadian astronauts” (p. 360).

Educationally and on the world stage, Canada occupies “almost a unique position” regarding equity in education according to the *International Report Card on Public Education: Key Facts on Canadian Achievement and Equity* (Parkin, 2015, p. 1). However, this position is contested when the achievement of Aboriginal peoples is included. The report also states the following: “Canada is one of only a few countries that combines overall high achievement, a larger than average immigrant population, and no significant achievement gap between immigrants and non-immigrants” (Parkin, 2015, p. 20). Success of immigrants has also been noted in postsecondary education (Parkin, 2015). Nonetheless, immigrants from central and southern America and the Caribbean are falling behind in terms of university enrollment. Canada is also rated among the best in providing equitable education for poor and rich children. This report states that Canada “stands out as having the second most equitable education system in the OECD – behind only Finland” (p. 24). However, the gap is widening between the post-secondary achievement of non-Aboriginal peoples and Aboriginal peoples in Canada. These findings have social and education implications for the province of Saskatchewan.

According to the 2011 National Household survey, the Saskatchewan demographic is comprised of 76% European descent, 6.3 % visible minorities, and 18.0 % North American Indians (Saskatchewan Bureau of Statistics, 2011). Saskatoon is willing to receive more new immigrants (Ley, 2007). Yet, the projection of the future demographic of Saskatchewan is a majority Aboriginal population (Green, 2006). However, the present conditions of Aboriginal peoples in this province are still afflicted by the continued structural and systemic racism rooted in colonial thought “that is now encoded in social, political, economic, academic and cultural institutions and practices” (p. 510). Two documents have positioned Aboriginal peoples for these ongoing socioeconomic disadvantages: the 1867 *British North America Act* allocated the responsibility of the administration of the reserves to the federal government of Canada and the 1876 *Indian Act* subjected First Nations to government control, denied their rights for full citizenship, and prohibited their traditional practices (Keatings, Innes, Laliberte, & Howe, 2012; Tupper, 2012). Further, Maclean’s magazine published a provocative article on January 22, 2015 about racism against Aboriginal peoples in Manitoba and Saskatchewan. The article reads, “In poll after poll, Manitoba and Saskatchewan report the highest levels of racism in the country,

often by a wide margin” (Macdonald, 2015, January 22). Unfortunately, as Green (2006) asserts, racism “is transmitted intergenerationally and is thus rendered non-controversial. Destabilizing it is enormously difficult” (p. 515). Green warns that “marginalization and racism breed social pathologies” such as the rise of Aboriginal street gangs in Saskatchewan (p. 523); therefore, initiatives to tackle racism and marginalization are urgently needed to end oppression and strengthen civil society.

However, there are some strides towards socioeconomic advancement in the situation of Aboriginal peoples, but this improvement remains minimal. There is a rise in the number of middle class Aboriginals in Saskatchewan. More Aboriginal peoples are completing their education and occupying professional positions. They are also contributing to the economy of Saskatchewan (Green & Peach, 2007) by owning businesses and creating jobs with the successful support of community led initiatives. These include the establishment of the Clarence Campeau Development Fund (CCDF) and the Dakota Whitecap First Nation (Keatings, Innes, Laliberte, & Howe, 2012, p. 2). Further, in 2012, The Idle No More movement, originated in Saskatoon, “marks the re-awakening of an Indigenous tradition and culture grounded in respect for the environment, fostering resistance to the kinds of exploitation of land and water conveyed through many of the terms of Bill C-45” (Wotherspoon & Hansen, 2013, p. 23). Bill C-45 violates the Indigenous rights for consultation and cooperation regarding issues related to their land and resources. However, the Idle No More movement revealed contradictions, controversies, and divisions among Aboriginal peoples themselves and between them and the mainstream society. The legacy of colonialism is evident in the dominant discourses that stereotype Aboriginal peoples as indifferent, lazy, and dependent on the government benevolence, reinforce the blame-the-victim discourse, and place emphasis on the meritocracy of the Canadian system that denies the role of race in systemic inequalities and discrimination. Power remains in the hands of mainstream culture dominating and marginalizing Aboriginal peoples (Wotherspoon & Hansen, 2013), in a complex set of dynamics of social inclusion and exclusion that is beyond the scope of this paper.

In terms of education, the Ministry of Education has implemented various strategies to facilitate the educational success of Aboriginal peoples. These include strategies to ensure Aboriginal representation in community councils, shared governance, mutual respect, shared accountability, and culturally responsive curricula. It has also developed teacher education

programs geared towards preparing both Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal teachers to educate an increasingly Aboriginal student population (Cottrell & Orłowski, 2014). Further, Historical Canada's History Report Card 2015 on the social studies in grades 7 to 9 states that Saskatchewan "should be commended for its attention to Aboriginal history and perspectives" (2015, n. p.), a claim that I question later in relation to the Saskatchewan's Social Studies 9 curriculum (See Chapter Four). Saskatchewan's Social Studies 9 uses history in a thematic way and "incorporates regional, national, cultural, global and interdisciplinary perspectives" according to this report card (n. p.). On the other hand, this report card assigned a C+ for Saskatchewan social studies and history curriculum across the grades, which demonstrates that it is lagging behind all other provinces except Alberta, which received C-. Consistent with other jurisdictions, Saskatchewan social studies curriculum lacks attention to historical consciousness, historical perspectives, and historical significance. The report further emphasizes the need to foster an "understanding of ethical dimensions of historical interpretation" in most curricula across provinces (n. p.). While other provinces have revised their social studies curriculum, Saskatchewan social studies is outdated. These observations are highly relevant to the analysis of Saskatchewan social studies curriculum, as I demonstrate in Chapter Four. Nevertheless, this report card does not provide detailed analysis of Saskatchewan curriculum, but offers only broad and vague observations. This dissertation is a systemic analysis of the grades 9 to 12 Saskatchewan social studies that will shed light on its current state. Its intention is to significantly enhance the social, economic, political, and academic wellbeing of all Saskatchewan citizens through representation. (Note: I use the term 'Aboriginal peoples' when referring to Canada's First Peoples in the dissertation because the curriculum uses it.)

Organization of the Chapters

This introductory chapter will close by outlining the remaining chapters. Chapter Two is a review of the literature on cosmopolitanism. In this chapter, I attempt to map the terrain of cosmopolitanism with a particular focus on two conceptions: moral and cultural cosmopolitanism. I will present a brief overview of its historical background, elaborate the many voices of cosmopolitanism, and address some of its criticisms. The core component of this review is the Nussbaum debate and its theoretical and practical implications for the relation between cosmopolitanism and related concepts such as nationalism, localism, human rights, multiculturalism, and globalization. Here I present a focused attention on cosmopolitan

education. The chapter ends by bringing to the fore some challenges and limitations to cosmopolitanism.

Chapter Three illustrates the methodology of this research. The research method consists of two parts: qualitative case study and critical discourse analysis. The two sources of data are the content analysis of the social studies curriculum in Saskatchewan high schools and transcripts of five audio-recorded semi-structured interviews with individual social studies teachers from Saskatchewan. The theoretical framework consists of the review of the literature on cosmopolitanism in Chapter Two.

Chapter Four is a content analysis of the grades 9 to 12 social studies curriculum in Saskatchewan high schools. It is based solely on the formal curriculum that is available on the website of the Saskatchewan Ministry of Education (See Saskatchewan Ministry of Education, Saskatchewan Curriculum). In this chapter, I identify emergent themes that underlie the curriculum.

Chapter Five is a discourse analysis of five semi-structured interviews with social studies teachers in Saskatchewan high schools. These interviews are significant in shedding light on the teaching of social studies in the classroom. I identify emergent themes based on the experiences of social studies teachers in the classroom.

Chapter Six provides a set of recommendations based on the data analysis of the previous two chapters. Here, I suggest some recommendations for the revision of the social studies curriculum. I also offer some suggestions for teacher education programs in Saskatchewan.

CHAPTER II: An Analytical Overview of the Literature on Cosmopolitanism and Cosmopolitan Education

Cosmopolitanism endorses reflective distance from one's cultural affiliations, a broad understanding of other cultures and customs, and a belief in universal humanity.

(Amanda Anderson, 1998, p. 267)

The review of the literature is long because I want to outline the main arguments within the burgeoning field of cosmopolitanism. This literature review is theoretical as well as practical and examines the various insights about cosmopolitanism and cosmopolitan education, mainly guided by moral- and cultural-based approaches to cosmopolitanism. Taken together, moral and cultural stances of cosmopolitanism hold promise for strengthening an ethical commitment to humanity not bounded by race, culture, ethnicity, nationality, geographical location, sexual orientation, gender, socio-economic status, language, able-ism, or other forms of dichotomies of difference. Broadly speaking, moral cosmopolitanism entails 'equal moral worth' to every human being based on our common humanity (Nussbaum, 1996/2002; Van Hooft, 2009; Jones, 2010, Brown & Held, 2010). Moral cosmopolitanism also emphasizes issues associated with global justice, global ethics, and human rights (Beitz, 2005; Van Hooft, 2009; Jones, 2010; Levy & Sznaider, 2004; Caney, 2005; Pogge, 1992; Scheffler, 2001; Benhabib, 2006). It is committed to cultivating and maintaining responsibilities across difference, boundaries, and anonymity to help victims of disasters, oppression, or poverty (Van Hooft, 2009, p. 83). Cosmopolitanism posits that requirements of human rights should be universal across political and cultural boundaries and different systems of beliefs (Van Hooft, 2009). Whereas cultural cosmopolitanism is based on the notion that cultures are hybrid, fluid, dynamic, and open-ended as a result of intermixing of cultures in an increasingly interconnected world (Appiah, 1996/2002, 2006; Stevenson, 2003; Waldron, 2000; Scheffler, 1999; Robbins, 1998; Rizvi, 2009). Accordingly, cultural cosmopolitanism posits openness to and engagement with other cultures and celebrates diversity.

I will elaborate on two forms of cosmopolitanism: moral cosmopolitanism and cultural cosmopolitanism. These two conceptions form the thread that runs through the dissertation. In other words, neither form is treated as an isolated entity as they share similar elements and

overlap in many ways. Therefore, it is important to examine each of these two conceptions, their historical backgrounds, their intersections and divergences, and well as their related views to other voices of cosmopolitanism and concepts in an interrelated and interdisciplinary approach that weaves arguments across disciplines and themes. The other voices of cosmopolitanism discussed here are selective because they share similar commitments to moral and cultural cosmopolitanism, though with a different focus. As Beardsworth (2011) observes, “all cosmopolitan discourse is moral” (p. 23). Therefore, I use the term *cosmopolitanism* without any qualifier to emphasize first morality as its core constituent, and second, cultural diversity as its catalyst. Following the philosopher Kant’s insights on cosmopolitanism, I understand cosmopolitanism as a concept that guides any political, economic, social, environmental, or cultural interaction or practice towards the moral good of all human beings. That is how the term *cosmopolitanism* without a qualifier is being used across the literature. For example, some scholars use the term *cosmopolitanism* interchangeably with the terms *world citizenship* or *cosmopolitan citizenship* (Heater, 2002, p. 7). Stevenson (2003) uses it interchangeably with *cultural citizenship* to emphasize the impact of cultural admixture on our relationships with the world. Other scholars use the term *cosmopolitanism* to refer to global justice (Van Hoof, 2009; Beitz, 2005). This is an indication that the moral and cultural aspects of cosmopolitanism in a globalized world are core elements of this concept that also underline other conceptions of it. This point will become clearer in the pages to come.

One of the conditions for a comprehensive understanding of cosmopolitanism and cosmopolitan education is to address the growing confluence with and divergence from other concepts including universalism, nationalism, localism, multiculturalism, human rights, and globalization. Further, as Anderson (1998) suggests, the success of any ethical attempt depends on understanding and facing its challenges and limitations in relation to various social, political, economic, and cultural realms. This chapter attends to these issues in a limited manner due to space concerns.

It follows that this review focuses on various insights on cosmopolitan education. As there is no consensus in the literature on what constitutes cosmopolitan education (Hansen, 2008a), this review aims to facilitate understanding of its undefined parameters. Few scholarly attempts to conceptualize cosmopolitan education are noted. This educational terrain remains not fully mapped reflecting the complexity of the burgeoning field of cosmopolitanism. Features of

cosmopolitan education are traced in relation to particular scholarly insights and interwoven throughout the literature review to form an underlying thread throughout this chapter. Consequently, this literature review focuses on putting forth a platform for cosmopolitan education as an outcome of this review. The chapter operates as a theoretical framework that guides the data analysis of this dissertation.

However, it is important to note that cosmopolitanism is a dynamic concept with evolving and differing notions at particular times and places (Hansen, 2010a). The theoretical and educational conceptions of cosmopolitanism converge and diverge from other concepts. Therefore, the literature review is by no means a fully extended review due to the complexity of this topic and limited space.

Further, the critical examination utilized here is the outcome of a literature synthesis to illuminate the complexity of the concept of cosmopolitanism and provide potential criteria for evaluating the social studies curriculum in Saskatchewan high schools. The rationale behind this structure of the literature review is to provide a deeper understanding of cosmopolitanism's dynamics socially, politically, culturally, and economically, dynamics that are also embedded in the social studies curriculum in Saskatchewan high schools discussed in Chapter Four.

First, I provide a brief historical background of cosmopolitanism. Second, I present an overview of the various voices of cosmopolitanism across the relevant literature. Third, I also address some criticisms of voices that are inappropriately considered to be cosmopolitan. Fourth, I elaborate on the moral/cultural discourse of cosmopolitanism by taking up Nussbaum's (1996/2002) insights in her highly influential essay, *Patriotism and Cosmopolitanism*, as a starting point for the cosmopolitan debate because of the significant scholarly reactions it has generated. Here I will discuss the relations between cosmopolitanism and the following concepts: localism, nationalism, human rights, multiculturalism, and globalization. Nussbaum's essay is also influential in drawing attention to the benefits of cosmopolitan education. Therefore, this section attends to issues related to cosmopolitan education. Fifth, the chapter closes by addressing limitations and challenges to cosmopolitanism.

Historical Background

Cosmopolitanism is a deep-rooted idea that originated with the ancient Greek philosophy of the Cynics, when Diogenes claimed that he was "a citizen of the world" (Nussbaum, 2010, p.

29). It could be argued that Diogenes meant that he belonged to a moral and rational humanity rather than to his place of birth or community membership (Nussbaum, 2010). Sabine (1961) explains that Diogenes saw himself as belonging to a single moral city (*polis*), which represents a place for “a meeting of minds”, and not to a specific local real city (as cited in Fine & Cohen, 2002/2008, p. 138). Nevertheless, there is not enough accurate knowledge of what these Cynics thought of this idea of universal rational humanity (Nussbaum, 2010).

Influenced by the Cynics, the Stoics elaborated upon this idea and suggested that being ‘a citizen of the world’ is like being part of “a series of concentric circles” where “the first one encircles the self, the next takes in the immediate family, then follows the extended family, then, in order, neighbors or local groups, fellow city-dwellers, and fellow countrymen” to finally reach all human beings (Nussbaum, 1996/2002, p. 9). The Stoics emphasized that we live in two communities, one is local and the other is the community of human aspirations. Being a citizen of the world consists of devoting one’s obligations and responsibilities to other human beings, explains Nussbaum. The Roman Stoics were also influenced by the philosophy of the Greek Cynics and applied this idea politically in the management of the Roman Republic. At that time, the Roman Stoic philosophers also developed the idea of natural law based on common reason that unites all human beings irrespective of nationality, ethnic membership, class, and gender. (Nussbaum, 2010).

A legacy of cosmopolitanism that has widely influenced our understanding of contemporary cosmopolitanism was also anchored in the philosophy of ancient Greece, namely, Kant’s philosophy of cosmopolitanism during the Enlightenment. Nussbaum (2010) argues that “Kant appropriates [from the Stoics] – the idea of a kingdom of free rational beings, equal in humanity, each of them to be treated as an end no matter where in the world he or she dwells” (p. 33). This idea of world citizenship and humanity, in addition to his conception of justice in political affairs, are well illustrated in his influential essay *Toward Perpetual Peace*, which is “a profound defense of cosmopolitan values” (p. 29).

In *Perpetual Peace*, Immanuel Kant (1795) believes that the natural state of human beings is a state of war not of peace. Therefore, he suggests that this natural state should be regulated and suppressed to avoid its horrible destructive consequences. This could be achieved by the establishment of a state guided by principles that could lead to perpetual peace, Kant suggests. This state is based on “a republican constitution” with a representative body where all

citizens are free, equal, and dependent on “a single common legislation” (p. 4). Under a republican constitution, a state cannot go to war against other states without the consent of its citizens. Further, “republicanism is the political principle of the separation of the executive power (the administration) from the legislative” (p. 4). Consequently, a legislator cannot easily abuse the use of power. Moreover, Kant advocates for an international law that he refers to as the “Law of Nations” that is “Founded on a Federation of Free States” to maintain freedom and security among these nations and ultimately peace (p. 5).

Kant also advocates for “a cosmopolitan law” in addition to international laws and constitutional laws. Under cosmopolitan law, all individuals are above all treated as citizens of the world and hence have certain rights (Kleingeld & Brown, 2006, p. 9). During war times, Kant urges nations to conform to moral conduct towards the enemy and refrain from deploying hostile acts that would undermine any future mutual confidence necessary for achieving peace. A central point in Kant’s moral and political philosophy appears to be, as Nussbaum suggests, that he conceives of human beings as possessing an innate nature for aggression as manifested in war because all nations, whether developed or barbaric, are aggressive in times of war. This suggests that Kant differentiates between passions and culture. “Passions, including aggression, as natural, pre-cultural, and not removable from human nature” (Nussbaum, 2010, p. 38). This is why Kant emphasizes the need for the establishment of public laws and a league of nations of some kind to ensure the end of all wars and hostilities among nations and individuals within and across nations.

Kant (1795) advocates for the right of universal hospitality to a stranger for a certain length of time and not permanently. In his view, due to the means of transportation such as the camel and the ship at that time, people have the ability to scatter around the surface of the earth. However, Kant deplores the injustices that foreigners commit upon their arrival such as exploiting others’ lands “as lands without owners” (p. 7). In this way, Kant is condemning colonialism and imperialism.

Further, Kant’s conception of cosmopolitanism encompasses several elements, Brown (2010) highlights. These include the following: first, human capacity flourishes in a universally just world where the individual is the primary unit of moral concern. Second, the establishment of a cosmopolitan society grounded by our humanity rather than place of birth, nationality, or parochial politics is essential for the attainment of universal justice. Finally, cosmopolitan law

focuses primarily on establishing universal justice and devising normative principles for a cosmopolitan constitution.

While cosmopolitanism of the Cynics and the Stoics was conceived against the circumscribed identity of the *polis*, Enlightenment cosmopolitanism was invoked against restrictive affiliations to class, religion, and state. By contrast, twentieth century cosmopolitanism was characterized by nationalistic racial and ethnic currents (Anderson, 1998). During the twentieth century, cosmopolitanism emerged as a consequence of the horrors of World War II. Cosmopolitan concepts shaped political bodies and international institutions and declarations that aimed at establishing a global community that respects human rights and sought the attainment of global peace (Van Hooft, 2009). Among others, these include the establishment of the United Nations (UN) in 1945, the extension of its mandate through the creation of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights in 1948 to protect human rights after the discovery of the death camps in Germany, and the establishment of the International Court of Justice and the International Criminal Court. Thus, unlike pacifism that is considered an ideal, cosmopolitanism has been institutionally supported which provides it with “operational legitimacy” (Van Hooft, 2009, p. 19). Van Hooft, however, differentiates between international law that governs the relationships between states and cosmopolitan law that governs relationships between individuals across the globe. From that perspective, the UN is an international organization rather than a cosmopolitan one, but endorses cosmopolitan values. Van Hooft anchors his argument in the Kantian notion of “cosmopolitan law that transcends international law by appealing directly to universal human values and rights” and standard conduct that is applied to all human beings irrespective of their nationality or community membership (p. 18). This argument is also based on the results of the Nuremberg trials of the Nazi defendants after World War II. The trials brought the new concept of “crimes against humanity” that are different from war crimes (p. 17). Under this notion, not only states, but also individuals such as soldiers in time of war, are held responsible for crimes such as genocide or war extermination and cannot claim that they are following the orders of their state.

In present times, the resurgence of cosmopolitanism is related to the philosophical thinking of many scholars in North America. These include Bruce Robbins (1993), David Hollinger (1995/2000), Julia Kristeva (1993), Martha Nussbaum (1996/2002), and many others (Anderson, 1998). Martha Nussbaum’s provocative essay *Patriotism and Cosmopolitanism* in the

Boston Review about the narrowness of US education received 29 responses from prominent US thinkers (Fine & Cohen, 2002/2008, p. 155). Consequently, Fine and Cohen refer to this contemporary historical development of cosmopolitanism as “Nussbaum’s moment” (p. 154). The rest of this chapter takes up contemporary North American thought on cosmopolitanism and cosmopolitan education by first highlighting the various voices of cosmopolitanism.

The Voices of Cosmopolitanism

The scholarly literature abounds with distinctions between various forms of cosmopolitanism, mostly contradictory, creating misunderstanding or unclear perspectives (Lu, 2000). Equally important, some scholars (Anderson, 1998; Todd, 2009) point out that most of these conceptions of cosmopolitanism share a moral commitment to humanity and a respect for cultural differences, but emphasize different aspects within cosmopolitanism. For example, Vertovec and Cohen (2002/2008) classify cosmopolitanism into six rubrics as a result of a synthesis of the vast literature on this topic while affirming that “no single conceptualization is adequate” (p. 3). These rubrics are 1) a socio-cultural condition, 2) a philosophy of world or world view, 3) political project I: transnational institutions, 4) project II: multiple subjects, 5) an attitude of disposition, and 6) a practice or competence (p. 9). Beardsworth (2011) divides the “cosmopolitan spectrum” into cultural, moral, normative, institutional, legal, and political cosmopolitanism (p. i). He argues that these various aspects are all moral and complementary to each other in a mutually reinforcing relationship, but have “*different contextual usage*” (p. 14). Kleingeld and Brown (2006) differentiate between moral, cultural, economic, and political cosmopolitanism with various distinctions within each type. These conceptions of cosmopolitanism are also not mutually exclusive; rather, each places emphasis on particular issues or questions (Hansen, Burdick-Shepherd, Cammarano, & Obelleiro, 2009).

The burgeoning literature also accounts for the use of various qualifiers of cosmopolitanism with each having a particular intent (Hansen, 2010a). Included are Hall’s (2002/2008) “vernacular cosmopolitanism” (p. 30), Malcomson’s (1998) “ordinary existing cosmopolitanisms” (p. 238), Beck’s (2002) “banal cosmopolitanism” (p. 28), Appiah’s (2006) “partial cosmopolitanism” (p. xvii), Koczanowicz’s (2010) “dialogical cosmopolitanism” (p. 141), and Todd’s (2009) “agonistic cosmopolitics” (p. 213). In addition, scholars attribute different degrees of the intended meaning within most of these qualifiers such as “strict” and

“moderate,” “strong” and “weak,” and “thick” and “thin” conceptions of cosmopolitanism (Hansen (2010a, p. 152). Anderson (1998) extrapolates on these various classifications of cosmopolitanism with her definition of this concept, which captures its general meaning. This definition is worth quoting at length. She states that

It is important to realize that cosmopolitanism is a flexible term, whose forms of detachment and multiple affiliations can be variously articulated and variously motivated. In general, cosmopolitanism endorses reflective distance from one’s cultural affiliations, a broad understanding of other cultures and customs, and a belief in universal humanity. The relative weight assigned to these three constitutive elements can vary, as can the cultural identities against which “reflective distance” is defined. (p. 267)

Put differently by Vertovec and Cohen (2002/2008), cosmopolitanism “seems to represent a confluence of progressive ideas” that simultaneously transcends the nation-state system, capable of reconciling “the universal and the particular, the global and the local,” adopts “culturally anti-essentialist” stance, and able to endorse a multitude of complex affiliations, interests, and identities (p. 4). Obviously, explicating these various conceptions of cosmopolitanism is not a straightforward endeavor. The following describes some of these conceptions within the limited space.

Vertovec and Cohen’s (2002/2008) Classification of Cosmopolitanism

Vertovec and Cohen (2002/2008) classify cosmopolitanism into six rubrics: First, cosmopolitanism represents a socio-cultural condition that is a result of the forces of contemporary globalization intensifying the social and cultural interconnections and interdependence of the global world. These forces include mass tourism, modern transportation and telecommunication, increased migration, global consumerism, and obvious multicultural cities around the world. In this sense, cosmopolitanism appeals to some theorists for its cultural hybridity and creativity on one hand, and for its political potential to challenge nationalism, racism, ethnocentrism, and sexism, on the other (pp. 8-14). This classification of cosmopolitanism as a socio-cultural condition is most commonly invoked in the relevant literature as *cultural cosmopolitanism*.

Second, cosmopolitanism entails a philosophy of the world or world-view (Vertovec & Cohen, 2002/2008, p. 10). Vertovec and Cohen point out that theorists have differing views of what a philosophy of being a world citizen means. Some share interest in broadening

cosmopolitanism beyond the nation; others seek to reconcile cosmopolitanism and nationalism, while other theorists call for a cosmopolitanism that transcends the nation state. For example, as Vertovec and Cohen (2002/2008, pp. 10-11) elucidate, Pogge (1992) distinguishes between moral cosmopolitanism that emphasizes respect for everyone and legal cosmopolitanism that endorses universal rights and obligations; Ignatieff (1999) differentiates between liberal cosmopolitanism that supports universal values, Marxist cosmopolitanism that urges solidarity with workers, and gentlemanly cosmopolitanism that dislikes nationalism and sees anywhere in the world as one's home; Beck (2010) advocates for a new political structure of the world that transcends the national one; and Appiah (1996/2002) suggests that we can have different perspectives about the world while at the same time remain loyal to one's political community, as Vertovec and Cohen explain.

Third, Vertovec and Cohen (2002/2008) explain that some political theorists envision cosmopolitanism as a political project consisting of establishing political transnational institutions such as the United Nations (UN) and the European Union (EU) that can limit or override the sovereignty of states in addressing global problems such as crime and pollution. Vertovec and Cohen refer to this type of cosmopolitanism as "Political Project I: Transnational Institutions" (p. 11). The authors also observe that this type of cosmopolitanism is also seen among some theorists as a global civil society, a form of a transnational political project to bring about cosmopolitan democracy. In this manner, this global civil society is developed as a result of the effort of transnational networks and social movements to solve various problems related to peace, human rights, and women rights, among others. Pogge (1992) defends this vision. Pogge refutes the idea of world state (p. 63). Instead, he favors the establishment of global institutions where political authority is spread vertically to face the impacts of wealth and power and minimize oppression, poverty, war, and violation of human rights. Pogge is also addressed in the scholarly literature under political cosmopolitanism.

Fourth, cosmopolitanism is also described as a "Project II: Multiple Subjects" (Vertovec & Cohen, 2002/2008, p. 12). In this view, people are encouraged to have multiple interests and affiliations to more than one community or group. Today, the same individual may be politically mobilized for different identifications at different times. These identifications range from being related to religion, culture, ethnicity, gender, race, disability, and sexuality, among many others (p. 12). This view is also one aspect of cultural cosmopolitanism.

Fifth, cosmopolitanism consists of an attitude or disposition of openness and engagement with other cultures (Vertovec & Cohen, 2002/2008). This characteristic of a cosmopolitan person complements the previous one related to having multiple identities. Here the cosmopolitan individual, according to Iyer (1997), can adjust to various cultures anywhere in the world as he or she “develops ‘habits of mind and life’ through which he or she can end up anywhere in the world and be ‘in the same relation of familiarity and strangeness’ to the local culture” (as cited in Vertovec & Cohen, 2008, p. 13). In my previous qualitative study, Sfeir (2015), I illustrated this classification of cosmopolitanism. The study revealed that people who lived in more than one country for an extended period of time and experienced several forms of cultural encounters developed a disposition for open-mindedness and impartiality towards others. Skrbis and Woodward’s (2007) qualitative study also explored aspects of cosmopolitan openness towards Otherness and its limitations.

Finally, cosmopolitanism refers to a practice or competence. Cosmopolitanism, according to Hannerz (1990), is a personal competence that allows individuals to find their way between cultures through looking, listening, reflecting, and intuiting as well as a competence that involves an accumulation of skills to manage one’s way through various systems of meanings (as cited in Vertovec & Cohen, 2002/2008, p. 13). Participants in my qualitative study also developed several characteristics of cultural competence including cultural adaptation, awareness of other cultures, and respect for other perspectives, values, and beliefs (Sfeir, 2015). Vertovec and Cohen also point out that there is a kind of competence that is the result of a “mere mix-and-match” of various cultural practices as a characteristic of “advanced globalization of capitalism” or of what Calhoun (2002/2008) describes as “consumerist cosmopolitanism” (Vertovec & Cohen, 2002/2008, p. 14). This type of competence is not a consideration of moral cosmopolitanism.

Another example from the literature that highlights both cosmopolitanism as a disposition of openness and engagement with other cultures and cosmopolitanism as a competence is found in Weenink’s (2008) qualitative study that was conducted with parents of children in a Dutch international education system. In this study, Weenink distinguishes between two forms of cosmopolitanism emerging from interviews with parents of children in an international education system: one group, the “dedicated cosmopolitans” (p. 1093) conceived cosmopolitanism as a set of competencies such as knowing more than one language, flexibility, and open-mindedness

towards other cultures. These competencies are social and cultural capital necessary to open up worldwide opportunities for the future of their children to facilitate their adaptation to and confrontation with other cultures. Albeit, Weenink observes that this view of cosmopolitanism is class biased because the parents expressed openness to Western cultures, but also expressed fear and avoidance of interactions with the less privileged such as immigrants from poor countries. The other group, the “pragmatic cosmopolitans,” saw instrumental value of an international orientation (p. 1093). For example, learning English perfectly provides their children with a competitive edge to reach their career goals and to prosper educationally and economically. Cosmopolitanism to them is not openness to other cultures or a connectedness with the world; rather, it is simply a way to have their children better themselves economically and socially.

It is important to note that although Vertovec and Cohen (2002/2008) address these last three classifications of cosmopolitanism (having multiple identifications, an attitude of openness and engagement with other cultures, and a practice or competence) separately, they also point out that these notions can complement each other. These notions are also in the related literature as essential components of cultural cosmopolitanism and not as separate views of cosmopolitanism. It seems that Vertovec and Cohen’s classification highlights that each theorist emphasizes a particular use of cosmopolitanism or political discourse over another. These discourses are not in a mutually exclusive relationship, but additive ones as the authors demonstrate and as I have explained in the examples provided to support these classifications.

Kleingeld and Brown’s (2006) Classification of Cosmopolitanism

Kleingeld and Brown’s (2006) ways of classifying cosmopolitanism are more commonly used in the scholarly literature than Vertovec and Cohen’s (2002/2008). These are moral, cultural, political, and economic cosmopolitanism. The following is a brief description of this classification.

Moral cosmopolitanism. Moral cosmopolitanism takes up a moral position towards our relationships with the world (Nussbaum, 1996/2002; Van Hooft, 2009; Brown & Held, 2010). Its core tenet entails that each person is entitled to equal moral worth unaffected by any form of group membership including religion, ethnicity, race, and nationality. Thus, moral cosmopolitanism is impartially concerned with the individual’s interests, rights claims, and basic obligations to other human beings rather than those of groups (Jones, 2010; Van Hooft, 2009; Brown & Held, 2010). In other words, cosmopolitanism is invoked against all forms of

discrimination, racism, prejudice, and exploitation of Others based on any type of group identification (Van Hooft, 2009). The extreme version of moral cosmopolitanism is best elucidated by the insights of Nussbaum (1996/2002), as Scheffler (1999) points out. Nussbaum insists that our moral obligation and duties to fellow citizens should not override our obligations to humanity as a whole. This extreme version is also referred to as classical cosmopolitanism as opposed to contemporary cosmopolitanism that addresses plurality and has raised significant scholarly debates about the politics of identity (Anderson, 1998).

In response to Nussbaum's (1996/2002) view, a moderate version of cosmopolitanism has emerged in the literature that calls for acknowledging the primacy of local affiliations while at the same time having concerns and duties to other fellow human beings (Kleingeld & Brown, 2006; Scheffler, 1999; Hansen, 2010a). For instance, Appiah's "partial cosmopolitanism" entails loyalty to our cultural ascriptions, but it also endorses a reflective distance from them as well as receptiveness and interest in differences (2006, p. xvii).

Further, moral cosmopolitanism also pivots around issues of global justice, human rights, global ethics, and equal distribution of wealth (Beitz, 2005; Pogge, 1998, 2002; Van Hooft, 2009; Caney, 2005). Waldron (1991-1992) maintains that we are economically, morally, and politically interdependent on a global scale rather than on a community-wide or national scale (p. 772). Echoing Nussbaum (1996), Waldron refutes the claims made by communitarians such as Michael Walzer and John Rawls that confine social justice to a local community. Our problems today such as pollution, mass migration and refugees, war, and resource distribution are of a global nature. They necessitate "a bringing together of a diversity of perspectives and ideas in the formation of common solutions" (Waldron, 1991-1992, p. 776).

Cultural cosmopolitanism. This cultural dimension of cosmopolitanism has been widely discussed in the literature raising various contested arguments among scholars (Kleingeld & Brown, 2006; Hansen, 2010a). Yet, most scholars share a commitment to respect difference across boundaries, demonstrate the potential of cultural interconnection in creating a cosmopolitan society, and highlight the importance of a genuine public communication at all levels. Concisely defined, cultural cosmopolitanism embraces cultural diversity and rejects "exclusive" parochial affiliations, homogenous cultural communities, strong nationalism (Kleingeld & Brown, 2006, p. 12), "dichotomous forms of gendered and racial thinking," and the deconstruction of other forms of boundaries (Stevenson, 2003, p. 5).

Waldron (1991-1992), who is “a leading exponent of cultural cosmopolitanism” (Hansen, 2010a, p. 155), urges us to “think how much we owe in history and heritage—in the culture, or the cultures that have formed us—to the international communities that have existed among merchants, clerics, lawyers, agitators, scholars, scientists, writers, and diplomats” (p. 778). Drawing on Waldron’s insights, Scheffler’s (1999) notion of “cosmopolitanism about culture and the self” reasserts that cultures are dynamic and undergo constant modifications and reconstructions due to their interactions with aspects of other cultures such as practices, ideas, languages, and traditions (p. 256). In this view, people construct and renew their identity, their human agency, and their wellbeing from intercultural exchanges and resources, and not from being immersed in a single pristine culture. They do this because “the pure culture, uncontaminated in its singularity, is for this reason an anomaly” (Waldron, 2000, p. 232). Nevertheless, Hansen (2010a) notes that critics of cultural cosmopolitanism question whether this cultural hybridity is genuine and transformative in terms of commitments, values, and beliefs or it is a mere “additive,” a characteristic of shoppers who “pick some from here and some from there” (p. 155). For example, Kymlicka (1995) has criticized Waldron’s view of cultural cosmopolitanism by stating that this cultural intermixing is not cosmopolitan; rather it is the characteristic of the lifestyle of the Anglophone society in the United States (as cited in Waldron, 2000). This is an ongoing debate among scholars.

Waldron (1991-1992) refutes the assumption that we are exclusively formed by a single and homogeneous community. Therefore, we owe allegiance to our global community as much as we owe to our local one. Waldron does not mean that we should deny our parochial affiliations and “realign ourselves under the flag of the United Nations” (p. 780). He wants us to respect and embrace cosmopolitan commitments made by international actors to pursue common issues that go beyond a particular community or nation.

Similarly for Stevenson (2003), cosmopolitanism is a dimension of cultural citizenship that is also based on the notion of cultures being dynamic and open-ended as a result of intermixing of cultures. Nevertheless, this dimension of cultural citizenship is not limited to cultural intermixing, but goes beyond a civic solidarity that is based on culturally and nationally constructed society (p. 23). It is concerned with the search for a global political and ethical approach to our relations with the Other, the city, the nation, and the global. “A genuinely cosmopolitan civil society” Stevenson argues, “could not be rooted in a particular collective

identity, but would need to find its support from the moral universalism of human rights perspectives” (p. 23). It is important to note that Stevenson does not use the phrase *cultural cosmopolitanism*. Instead, throughout his book *Cultural Citizenship: Cosmopolitan Questions*, he uses the term *cosmopolitanism* or the following phrases: “cultural citizenship,” “cosmopolitan notions of cultural citizenship,” and “cultural cosmopolitan citizenship” (p. 66).

Cultural citizenship entails “the right to be different (in terms of race, ethnicity, or native language) with respect to the norms of the dominant national community without compromising one’s right to belong, in the sense of participating in the nation-state’s democratic processes” (Rosaldo & Flores, 1997, p. 57). In contemporary society, cultural citizenship has shifted its focus away from concerns with formal civil rights onto the terrain of marginalized, disrespected, and invisible cultural practices to challenge exclusion, normalization, and silence (Stevenson, 2010). It addresses issues of inclusivity and exclusivity, marginalization, as well as ethical and participatory democracy to protect minority rights. It calls into question the powerful codes and dominant discourses that reinforce binary oppositions and the notion of the Other. These codes and discourses permeate several aspects of society such as which group has established superiority, which language is the accepted one for public deliberation, and whose history is acknowledged in the curriculum (Stevenson, 2003). Drawing on the work of Hanna Arendt (1958, 1990, 1993), Stevenson (2010) explains the notion of thinking as a process of self-examination and active engagement in society rather than simple adaptation to build a political culture. He further emphasizes the centrality of democratic dialogue, particularly in public spheres, such as the media and education, in the formulation of an efficacious good society which allows questioning and critiquing of one’s beliefs and viewpoints, deliberating upon ordinary matters of daily life and shared interests, caring, respecting and listening to others and the “freedom to shift position” (p. 279). Stevenson (2003) defines cultural citizenship as a communicative process. He states,

Cultural citizenship aims to promote conversation where previously there was silence, suspicion, fragmentation or the voices of the powerful. We need to go beyond liberal demands for tolerance and instead edge towards more intercultural levels of communication. (p. 152)

In other words, cultural citizenship is concerned with providing public spaces to the marginalized and silenced voices, and the disrespected and stereotyped cultural practices.

Stevenson (2003) endorses the creation of a socially just society supported by a publicly communicative power that is inclusive of various groups such as feminist groups, trade unions, ethical communities, green networks, parents' groups and religious groups. These groups, through genuine public conversation, have the potential to intervene to protect the public from manipulative schemes reinforced by "the colonizing capacity of money and power" (p. 22). Stevenson maintains that, according to Barber (2001), this threat to the establishment of a genuine civil society is manifested in at least three ways. First, the government is able to control public criticism through various hegemonic strategies, including censorship and strategies of inclusion and exclusion. Second, the markets seek the creation of individualistic goals, which constrains any public deliberation for the welfare of the whole society. Finally, the markets also tend to promote communal solidarity based on homogeneous communities.

Further, social transformations, such as the advance in information technology and its effects on the economic success, consumerism, media, and the creation of networks, have also contributed to the increased detachment from national boundaries and connected the individual to different levels of citizenship: the self, the local, the city, and the national (Stevenson, 2003). In other words, these social transformations have caused the emergence of multilevel cosmopolitan citizenship. Following Held (1995) and other scholars, Stevenson suggests the implementation of global institutions at multiple levels to dismantle "the cultural hegemony of the state" (p. 39). Friends of the Earth, Greenpeace, Amnesty International, and the United Nations are examples of global institutions that can contribute to the development of a cosmopolitan society (p. 42). This transnational governance would seek to promote cosmopolitan democracy that has the interests of citizens of all nations and provide them with opportunities for a dialogue based on the respect of Otherness. Here, Stevenson connects cultural citizenship with the notion of political cosmopolitanism discussed below. However, Stevenson warns us that this form of transnational governance can turn into a technocratic one if ordinary citizens do not have the opportunity to critically (intellectually and emotionally) engage in dialogue in the public arena.

Political cosmopolitanism. For this research, it is sufficient to provide only some prominent examples of views about political cosmopolitanism to clarify its meaning. Political cosmopolitanism also consists of several variants within a contentious internal debate. There are scholars who advocate a strong world government. Others argue for a kind of federation among

states, while some suggest a vertical institutional reform that spreads sovereignty over a multitude of political bodies (Kleingeld & Brown, 2006). As already noted, Pogge (1992) advocates the gradual reform of global institutions to develop a global order whereby institutions hold the responsibility for the protection of human rights by reducing severe deprivation, poverty, inequalities, war, and oppression. These institutions are vertically spread without one assuming dominant authority. Pogge is against both a single world government and independent sovereign states that have an entrenched loyalty to their relative government.

The starting point for Held's (2010) view on cosmopolitan order is that the history of states is marked by brutality and corruption. To Held, political cosmopolitanism denotes the establishment of regional and global institutions that cooperate with national ones to solve pressing collective problems such as pollution and global infectious diseases. The nation state can no longer solve these problems independently without the international community. Held advocates for cosmopolitan democracy that can be slowly attained through the incorporation of law-enforcement and regulations that protect the individual's human rights and ensure the right to participate in democratic decision-making regionally and globally. Held argues that attaining cosmopolitan democracy is feasible and not utopian. The development of international law, the establishment of different global courts to address injustices, and the existence of international movements, corporations, and agencies already constitute the "global civil society" and "create anchors for the development of cosmopolitan democracy" (p. 244).

Economic Cosmopolitanism. Economic cosmopolitanism endorses free globalized market with minimum interference from the state (Kleingeld & Brown, 2006). For several reasons, economic cosmopolitanism is strongly criticized. First, it is understood as a form of neoliberal capitalism that has a destructive impact on the world. Second, exploitation of the environment and the extreme consumerism devastate the future of the Earth. Third, large multinational companies possess hegemonic power over economically weak states and manipulate those small states for their own interests.

Cosmopolitanism and its Qualifiers

Cosmopolitanism has been also associated with a number of "mushrooming qualifiers" to frame a particular discourse of cosmopolitanism (Hansen, 2010a, p. 161). For the purpose of this study, it is sufficient to illustrate two examples: Malcomson's (1998) notion of "actually existing cosmopolitanisms" (p. 238) and Hall's (2002/2008) "vernacular cosmopolitanism" (p. 30). Both

provide insights into the dynamics of local encounters, cultural and historical, in people's everyday life and their related cosmopolitan tensions.

Actually existing cosmopolitanisms. Malcomson (1998) dubbed the notion of “actually existing cosmopolitanisms” to draw the attention to the academy's neglect of forms of cosmopolitanism embedded in local encounters among ordinary people (p. 238). These include historical encounters with religious missionaries, traders travelling the world, common immigrants, and iconic individuals in the entertainment business, among others. These individuals have engaged in the wider world rather than solely within their local cultures. This notion of “actually existing cosmopolitanisms” has taken place under forceful circumstances unrelated to the ethical dimension of cosmopolitanism (p. 238). This notion also indicates that cosmopolitanism “cannot be distilled into a single, consistent worldview” (Todd, 2010, p. 215).

Lamont and Aksartova's (2002) study is an example of this notion. The authors focus their attention on ordinary cosmopolitan practices as “strategies used by ordinary people to bridge boundaries with people who are different from them” (p. 1). Lamont and Aksartova were interested in how ordinary cosmopolitans (the privileged and the disadvantaged groups) negotiate their differences in their daily life. The authors contend that while cosmopolitanism is mainly invoked in the literature to advocate allegiance to humankind in contrast with nationalism, race is similarly a mechanism of xenophobia and division between ‘us’ and ‘them’ within nations as well as between them (p. 2). The authors sought to understand how White and North African workers in France and Black and White working men in the United States use cultural strategies to face racial encounters in their daily life and how they understand human similarities. Though these cultural encounters are local, they also embody cosmopolitan tensions between the local and the universal, between what is different and what is common to universal morality. Thus, these workers' understandings of human similarities and particularities was what constituted their cosmopolitan imagination. Lamont and Aksartova found that the interviewed American workers justified equality between Black and White based on their earning capacity, consumption, and the universality of human nature as being bad or good. The authors also noticed that only the Black workers articulated universalistic, naturalistic, and religious arguments against racism: the Black workers stated that both White and Black people share the same American citizenship, common physiological characteristics, and that they are both the creation of one God. They also assert the role of class in perpetuating racial inequality. The

French workers defended racial equality at work on the basis of the universality of human nature and needs such as equality in the distribution of intelligence among races and that we are all mortal. North Africans in France also referred to conformity to the moral rules of behavior in the host society such as respect for all and solidarity with other workers. Interestingly, the French workers did not link racial equality to socioeconomic success, while the American workers did not use the solidarity argument to counteract racism. This study demonstrates that there are different worldviews of what is cosmopolitan.

Vernacular cosmopolitanism. Vernacular cosmopolitanism acknowledges the limitations of one's identity and culture, and does not deny its "traces of difference" while it retains these traces (Hall, 2002/2008, p. 30). It is aware, however, that this culture or identity is insufficient to be prescribed to govern the larger society. Further, vernacular cosmopolitanism provides the individual with the choice of exiting some cultural attributes while at the same time supporting communitarian affiliations. For different communities to live side by side and attend its contested differences democratically, Hall proposes the maintenance of "an agonistic democratic process" that facilitates compromises and reconciliations between difference and equality to reach a framework of what is good and what is bad in a particular society (p. 30). Hall grounds his argument in Waldron's claim that organic cultures do not exist as isolated entities unrelated to the rest of the world, and that we are somehow constructed by other cultures. Hall (2002/2008) affirms that we are always embedded in some kind of cultural particularities. The author invites us to think "why Englishness has never been able, imaginatively, to encompass Irishness" although it is assumed to be not a religious society (p. 29). Britain has always embedded its Protestant identity in its formation, Hall asserts. Cosmopolitanism is a complex concept with its naysayers.

Critiques of Cosmopolitanism

Cosmopolitanism has been subject to much critique. Some of these critiques state that cosmopolitanism entails intellectual cacophony, political aloofness, moral rootlessness, naïve utopianism, disguised ethnocentrism, uncritical universalism, and elitist aestheticism (Hansen, 2010a). The breadth of these criticisms accentuates the fact that "cosmopolitanism aspires to be too many things to too many people, and thus collapses under the weight of its overweening grasp" (Hansen, 2010a, p. 151). For reasons of space, I will address only two of these criticisms

that have garnered the most attention: cosmopolitanism as a naïve utopianism and cosmopolitanism as an elitist aestheticism.

Cosmopolitanism as a naïve utopianism. Is cosmopolitanism a utopian philosophy? Realist critics contend that at a time when the world is witnessing a number of raging wars in the Middle East, the rise of religious fundamentalism, massacres in the name of religion, ethnic cleansing, destruction by lethal and more powerful weapons than the world has never witnessed before, the concept of cosmopolitanism seems to imply a utopian philosophy (Lu, 2000). The realists, Lu explains, state that its ideal assumptions regarding natural bonds, human perfectibility, and universal reason have threatening consequences for international security because of its failing to acknowledge human fallibility in a fragmented world. Further, Lu points out that while realists view cosmopolitanism as too optimistic and naïve, communitarians see cosmopolitanism as dangerous “to key moral goods, communal autonomy and plurality” (p. 246). Lu explains that some critics claim cosmopolitanism is an abstract concept because it denies psychological and emotional attachments to our community, state, family, and culture and calls for allegiance to humanity which itself is an abstract entity.

Smith’s (2007) discussion of Arendt’s (1958, 1983, 1990, 1977, 1994) notion of “worldliness” is helpful in responding to these criticisms. According to Smith, Arendt’s notion of worldliness has several characteristics. First, worldliness entails “the adoption of a self-reflective mode of being in the world” (p. 37). It refers to the way we negotiate our attachments and detachments from beliefs, values, people, and things through exercising self-reflexivity and maintaining distance to exercise critical judgment of the world, undistorted by our personal attachments and affiliations (p. 44). Second, worldliness is about “cultivating a heightened feeling or care for the world” (Smith, 2007, p. 46). It is a care that is not animated by “compassion or pity for others” (Kateb, 1977, as cited in Smith, 2007, p. 44) nor by a utopian imagination (Arendt, 1983, as cited in Smith, 2007, p. 44). From a cosmopolitan perspective, Smith contends that this element of worldliness is manifested in the way cosmopolitans discharge global solidarity, obligations, and duties such as advocating global distributive justice, campaigning against poverty, and protecting human rights, among others. Another element of worldliness is skillful disclosure to the world. Persons with such a skill have unique qualities of action and speech to engage competitively and discursively with others. For example, volunteers, professionals, and activists are individuals who possess effective communication skills and good

judgment required to adopt different positions. They can forge successful networks of alliances and interact with government agencies to secure funds and to reach their cosmopolitan goals. Thus, I argue that Arendt's idea of worldliness as discussed by Smith shows that cosmopolitanism is neither a utopian idea nor an abstraction.

Further, I refer to history to bring about another critical perspective against the notion that cosmopolitanism is utopian in such a violent world characterized by raging wars and violations of human rights at all levels. The idea of cosmopolitanism and cosmopolitan education was developed by the Stoics in search for solutions to resolve continuous political conflicts between city-states (Rizvi, 2009). In the nineteenth century, Kant's view of cosmopolitanism emerged as a response to numerous on-going wars between European states, their animosity to foreigners and the exploitation of their colonies. Thus, Kant's idea of a cosmopolitan order is based on the adoption of cosmopolitan law to regulate the relationships between disputing states (Rizvi, 2009). Then, it is in the aftermath of World War II and its devastating effects on humanity that the Universal Declaration of Human Rights was adopted in 1948. The European Union, federalist systems, and the United Nations are empirical examples of the possibility of cosmopolitan governance and democracy (Warf, 2012). Thus, features of cosmopolitanism are already present in the global community in many forms. Yet, it is evident that these political systems (e.g., the United Nations) need to be "reformed and empowered" to advance democracy on a global scale (Warf, 2012, p. 289).

Cosmopolitanism as an elitist aestheticism. Does cosmopolitanism imply an elitist aestheticism? Vertovec and Cohen note that cosmopolitans are commonly stereotyped as the privileged elites who possess the resources to travel and indulge in the consumption of expensive cultural products. Cosmopolitans exhibit detachment from the nation-states and from the obligations of citizenship. They are looking for new experiences and exotic consumptions. Cosmopolitans are also somewhat akin to tourists of all kinds, as well as people at home who are being exposed to various forms of cultural consumption. Urry (1995) named this view of cosmopolitanism "aesthetic cosmopolitanism" (as cited in Vertovec & Cohen, 2002/ 2008, p. 7). Notwithstanding, this line of thought about cosmopolitanism is dominant in some scholarly studies such as "Kanter's (1995) 'world class', Kirwan-Taylor's (2000) 'cosmocrats', [and] Calhoun's (2002) 'frequent travelers'" (Skrbis & Woodward, p. 731). Here cosmopolitanism serves "the everyday currency of global capitalism, whose most obvious effect is the

reinforcement of symbolic boundaries between social classes” (Stevenson, 2003, p. 61). However, Gunesch (2004) points out that some cosmopolitan writers have emphasized that globally mobile people, particularly tourists, do not necessarily become cosmopolitan because they do not seek close engagement with different cultures or undergo changes as a result of cultural encounters. This strand of cosmopolitanism, *aesthetic cosmopolitanism*, is not relevant to this research as it fails to account for its moral stance and willingness to genuinely engage with Otherness.

Hansen (2010b) has further challenged this notion of elitism by arguing for a strand of cosmopolitanism that is rooted in the everyday life of people from different backgrounds and by their earthly qualities such as joy, appreciation, gratitude, social cooperation, friendship, love, play, and the like. It is a way of life expressed in the daily activities, commitments, and concerns of people without governing them. This way of life does not negate particularity and locality; rather, it is rooted in the local with a critical awareness of its relation to the world. The author referred to this type of cosmopolitanism as “cosmopolitanism from the ground up” which is characterized by “thoughtful receptivity to the new and critical loyalty to the known” (p. 1). Therefore, Hansen argues, such a cosmopolitan spirit can be found in youth, working-class people, and recent immigrants more so than in the elite.

This overview of the various voices and critiques of cosmopolitanism underscores the complexity of framing the boundaries of this concept as these various conceptualizations overlap in many ways and remain contested. Accounting for these various conceptualizations of cosmopolitanism enriches the analysis of the social studies curriculum because they are significantly relevant to the themes discussed in the curriculum, be it the formal or the enacted curriculum as Chapters Four and Five demonstrate. The discussion will move beyond rigid classifications of cosmopolitanism to engage in the Nussbaum debate for a more in-depth analysis of moral and cultural cosmopolitanism.

Cosmopolitanism and Nussbaum Debate

Nussbaum’s extreme version of moral cosmopolitanism has provoked numerous opposing reactions to the concept of cosmopolitanism (Scheffler, 1999; Papastephanou, 2002, p. 72). These reactions have layered a blanket of utopianism, universalism, abstraction, and contradictions over the notion of cosmopolitanism. I take up Nussbaum’s (1996/2002) views on

cosmopolitanism and cosmopolitan education as the starting point of this section of the literature review for several reasons. First, Nussbaum's views highlight the resurgence of cosmopolitanism as a new historical era of this philosophical debate. There are multiple references in the contemporary literature on cosmopolitanism to both her essay *Patriotism and Cosmopolitanism* published in the *Boston Review* and the subsequent responses to it from prominent American intellectuals (Fine & Cohen, 2002/2008). Sixteen of these responses were published in a book entitled *For Love of Country?*. Fine and Cohen refer to this late American thought on cosmopolitanism as "Nussbaum's moment" (p. 137). Second, it has generated numerous provocative viewpoints regarding a wide range of issues (some of which are discussed below) such as patriotism, universalism, nationalism, multiculturalism, human rights, global citizenship, politics of identity, global ethics, and global justice, among others. In other words, Nussbaum's insights are either the starting point or the main argument of contention in many scholarly works on cosmopolitanism.

In what follows, Nussbaum's (1996/2002) universal cosmopolitanism and cosmopolitan education will begin the discussion. This will be followed by the various arguments leveled against or in defense of moral cosmopolitanism, both in its extreme version and moderate one, in relation to universalism, nationalism, localism, human rights, multiculturalism, and globalization and their relevant significance to education. The cosmopolitan debate discussed below helps capture the tensions and complexities surrounding the concept of cosmopolitanism, which means that no sharp distinctions emerge from this account, but the space for a dialogical debate opens for further investigations.

Nussbaum's Universal Cosmopolitanism

Nussbaum's (1996/2002) central idea is that cosmopolitanism means "allegiance is to the worldwide community of human beings" (p. 4), a concept that serves universal goals such as social justice and equality. Referring to Greek philosophy, Nussbaum appeals for the treatment of our problems in relation to the whole of humanity without the constraints of national identity. She argues that our national identity is accidental; therefore, our first loyalty should be not limited to our local community, but to the community that is composed of all human beings. She argues that our special concerns such as the care of our children should be justified based on universal terms, not because our children are worth more than the children of other people, but because all human beings have equal moral worth. She does not deny our obligations to our

family and children, but she places the legitimacy of these obligations in relation to the broader concerns of our fellow human beings. She refers to the Stoics' metaphor of the series of concentric circles to stress the importance of extending our allegiance from the self, to include immediate family, then extended family, to neighbors, city fellows, and fellow citizens to finally encompass humanity (p. 9). She further points out that we should be aware of the consequences of our actions on others and what difference they can make in their lives. Therefore, she maintains that compassion should be expanded beyond one's local community. Nussbaum emphasizes that we should genuinely expand our moral obligations to people around the globe by questioning our privilege for a high living standard as compared to what is available to people in developing nations. Nussbaum contends that to justify privileges as Western qualities that cannot be universalized is a moral hypocrisy towards other nations. Therefore, our political and economic decisions should account for the rights of all human beings. Nussbaum strongly asserts that patriotism is dangerously close to jingoism (p. 14), which is a form of aggressive patriotism.

With this position, Nussbaum (1996/2002) criticizes the media and the educational system in the US for not providing information about the lives of people outside the borders. She claims that civic education in the US is narrow and provides students with insufficient knowledge about other people around the world and their problems such as pollution and hunger. Referring to the American context, she questions whether students should be taught to consider themselves "above all citizens of the United States" (p. 6). She calls for an education that promotes freedom of Western prejudices towards other cultures and commitment to human rights that is not limited. Given that, it is an education that fosters a global responsibility in sharing the world and its resources in an interconnected world.

Accordingly, Nussbaum (1996/2002) presents four arguments in support of a civic education for world citizenship in the United States. First, she claims that cosmopolitan education enhances self-knowledge while national education fosters irrationality leading to the belief that one's own assumptions, ways of life, and preferences are natural and neutral. Second, it promotes a global dialogue regarding issues such as pollution and food supply. Third, it fosters in children a way of thinking that acknowledges moral obligations to all human beings, respect for their rights and human dignity, and their need for an opportunity to pursue happiness. Fourth, cosmopolitanism emphasizes not only shared national values, but also values pertaining to all human beings within a nation and across borders. Cosmopolitan education helps children "cross

those boundaries in their minds and imaginations” (p. 15). Concisely put, Nussbaum calls for an education that promotes self-knowledge, global dialogue, moral ways of thinking, and universal values. The following chart helps to visualize Nussbaum’s conception of cosmopolitanism and cosmopolitan education.

Throughout the literature review, these same elements are advocated by many scholars, but defended sometimes differently for various purposes. Further, as already mentioned, Nussbaum’s (1996/2002) views on universalistic cosmopolitanism led to an academic debate on the value of moral cosmopolitanism (Van Hooft, 2009), cultural cosmopolitanism and the significance of cosmopolitan education. Now I turn to describing competing arguments regarding the relation of Nussbaum’s universal cosmopolitanism to nationalism.

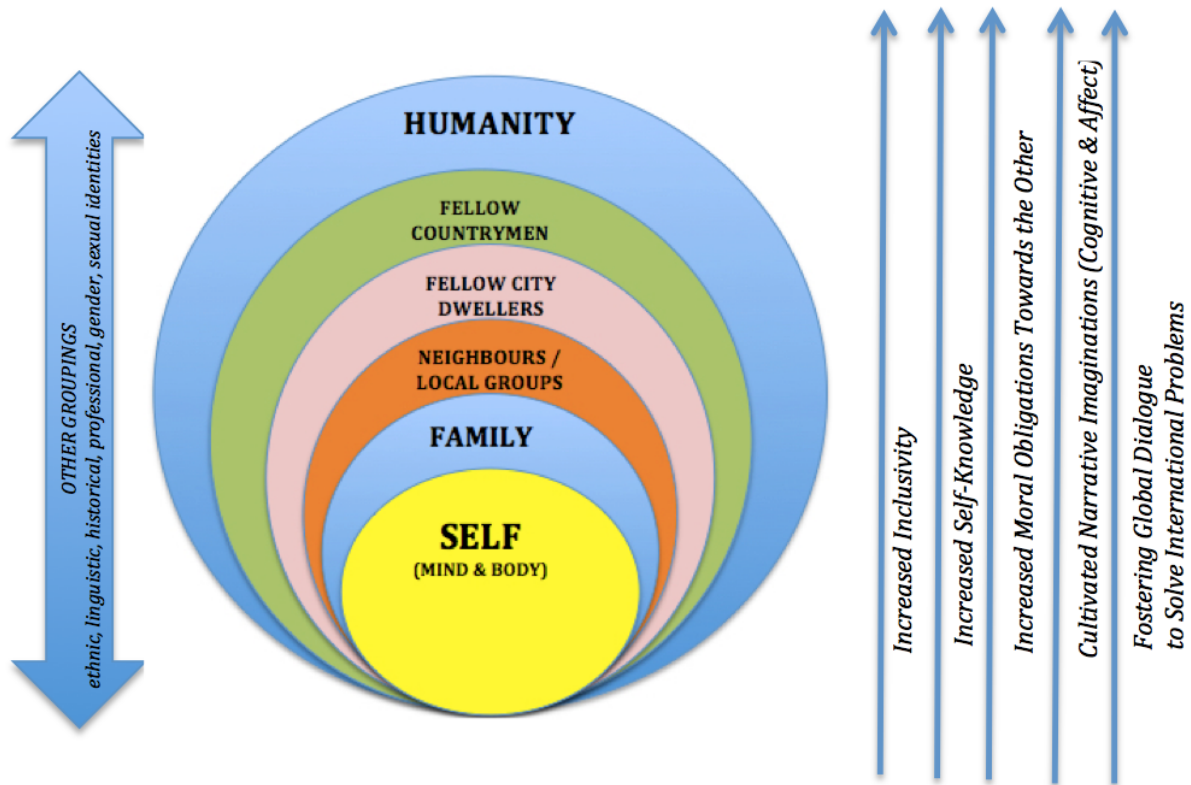


Figure 1: Nussbaum’s Conception of Cosmopolitanism and Cosmopolitan Education For Increased Inclusivity

Cosmopolitanism and Nationalism

Nussbaum's (1996/2002) essay has sparked an "extremely controversial" debate about cosmopolitanism, particularly its relation to nationalism (Papastephanou, 2002, p. 73). In fact, most of the thinkers who responded to Nussbaum's influential essay *Patriotism and Cosmopolitanism* have focused their responses on defending the primacy of particular affiliations (Waldron, 2003, p. 23). These include Himmelfarb (1996/2002), Pinsky (1996/2002), Barber (1996/2002), and Gutmann (1996/2002). While Nussbaum and other cosmopolitan thinkers view nationalism as dehumanizing and a destructive approach towards humanity and consider cosmopolitanism as its viable alternative, others attack cosmopolitanism as a dangerous illusion and strongly defend nationalism. Many scholars take a moderate position and emphasize the need to reconcile both approaches. Scheffler (1999) contends that ambiguity arises from two positions, extreme and moderate cosmopolitanism. Though moderate cosmopolitanism seems obvious and "platitudinous," and extreme cosmopolitanism appears impossible and difficult to consider seriously, there is a dilemma to be considered, a dilemma that is widely discussed in the work of many philosophers (p. 262).

On the anti-nationalism front, Warf (2012) equates nationalism with xenophobia, exclusion, and denigration of the Other and cosmopolitanism with inclusion and universal humanism. The author starkly associates nationalism since its emergence with the ills of modern societies internally and at the global level. During the Enlightenment, Warf states, governments were free to dominate their population by including or excluding people as it suited them with no regard to the well-being of the politically marginalized within their borders (p. 273). Later, through the nineteenth century, the nation-state was associated with the elites whose agenda was to impose a single identity on its culturally diverse population, establish hierarchical structures within its communities, and reinforce the notion of Otherness. Global problems beyond the power of individual states, such as environmental degradation, were ignored.

Nationalism is also associated with several atrocities in the world such the "homicidal nationalism of the Bosnia Serbs" (Warf, 2012, p. 275). Warf shares Nussbaum's concerns that the "circle of compassion" is limited to a nation's borders privileging the values and lives of those within the nations over the lives of distant Others (p. 275). He holds that this "is the worst kind of spatial fetishism imaginable" (p. 275). He further points out that today nationalism is xenophobic with a deep association with militarism. Nationalist militarism instigates national

pride as a means to justify the violation of human rights, conquest of other territories, and the worship of war (p. 275). Here Warf echoes Nussbaum (1996/2002) when she states that patriotism is dangerously “close to jingoism” (p. 14). He sees that nationalism and cosmopolitanism as not reconcilable. Warf agrees with Harvey (2000) that cosmopolitanism should address the “dynamics of uneven development” between the developed world and Third World in order to attain global justice and democracy (2012, p. 286).

Similarly, Van Hooft (2009) states that historically nationalism and racism were inextricably linked to form an opposition to cosmopolitanism and its demands for humanitarian rights. Racism justified slavery and colonialism by instilling the belief that masters of slaves are inherently superior to those they were oppressing (p. 6). The consequences of imperialist ambitions of powerful nations were to disrespect the culture and religion of the people they conquered and the degradation of their human condition.

On the nationalistic front, Himmelfarb’s (1996/2002) strong opposition to cosmopolitanism is indicated in her response’s opening statement to Nussbaum’s essay. She writes “I was inoculated against cosmopolitanism at an early age” (p. 72). She sees that cosmopolitan sentiments belong to the realm of fantasy where all human beings have the same aspirations, aims, and common values of justice and conceptions of what is right. But the real world is “the world of nations, countries, people, and polities” (p. 75). Similarly, Barber (1996/2002) defends parochial attachments when she states, “we live in this particular neighborhood of the world, that block, this valley, that seashore, this family” (p. 34). Further, Himmelfarb strongly refutes that identity is accidental. She asserts that these universal values that Nussbaum (1996/2002) defends are not shared by humanity, but are actually “predominantly, perhaps even uniquely, Western values” embedded in their institutions, laws, and governments (p. 75). Glazer (1996/2002) takes a similar view when he writes that “cosmopolitan political loyalty” is tightly connected with Western culture: “that, after all, is where it comes from” (p. 64). Himmelfarb sees that cosmopolitanism ignores illiberal practices such as female oppression, caste systems, child labor, and religious intolerance, among others (p. 70). She acknowledges that Western capitalist nations have their “deficiencies and evils” (p. 76), which she believes can be redressed in a democratic nation like Western nations, but not in non-Western nations. On the contrary, Sen (1996/2002) disagrees with Himmelfarb’s “sharp distinction between Western and non-Western values” (p. 117). He states that the claim that

values like justice, liberty, and democracy are only products of the West is factually weak. He referred to history to provide evidence that these values are also non-Western values, claiming that they are shared by Asian countries such as China and Singapore and non-Western thinkers such as Confucius.

Another strong objection to Nussbaum's universal cosmopolitanism is raised by Barber (1996/2002). Barber objects to Nussbaum's underestimation of "the thinness of cosmopolitanism" (p. 33). As a result, Barber understands Nussbaum's cosmopolitanism as "the toxic cosmopolitanism of global markets" (p. 36), the contract society, and "the legal personhood" (p. 33). Ordinary men and women collapse under this kind of cosmopolitanism because it does not provide them with the warm grip of local attachments, but with abstraction. People have pride first in their local communities and then extend their attachments outwards, maintains Barber. Van Hooft (2009) points out that both Barber and Nussbaum conceive the relevant role of emotions, but they differ in their views on which emotions are positive and which ones are negative. While Nussbaum emphasizes compassion and sees patriotism as negative, Barber strongly advocates patriotic emotions (p. 23). Van Hooft (2009) further explains Barber's reference to contract society. From the contract theorists' perspective (e.g., Hobbes) individuals become "merely as rights-bearers able to enter into nothing more emotional than pragmatically constructed civic relationships with others" (p. 22). This relationship between morality and reason has been the subject of discussion since the Enlightenment when Kant introduced his moral theory that rejects the relevance of emotions in moral thought (p. 23).

These arguments and counter-arguments regarding the relation of Nussbaum's universal cosmopolitanism to nationalism indicate, as Walzer (1996/2002) suggests, that there is a need to reframe Nussbaum's argument because both particularism and cosmopolitanism are dangerous: "A particularism that excludes wider loyalties invites immoral conduct, but so does cosmopolitanism that overrides narrower loyalties" such as the crimes committed in the name of fascism and communism in the twentieth century (p. 127). As a response to this extreme version of moral cosmopolitanism and the related nationalist's reactions, many scholars advocate a moderate version of cosmopolitanism. However, this version is not shielded from an internal debate.

Scheffler (1999) calls for a moderate way of interpreting "cosmopolitanism about culture and the self" which holds that our devotion to our children and our local attachments are not

necessarily generated from the interests of all human beings, but from leading a way of living that is balanced and ethical in relation to the interests of humanity (p. 256). This way of life maintains loyalty to one's tradition and engages in negotiation of distinctions, but it is not a quest to preserve cultural purity.

Appiah (2006) argues that our allegiances and ties to our community do not override our loyalty and responsibility to humankind nor vice versa. Our affiliations and commitments to our community determine who we are: "a creed that disdains the partialities of kinfolk and community may have a past, but has no future" (p. xviii). These affiliations should be also expanded to people outside our community with respect to human diversity. Appiah contends that values are not objectives across communities. Some values are universal while others are local. Rather, these obligations intertwine with our universal concerns and respect for differences in human lives, practices, and beliefs (p. xv). He also reinforces the idea that while cosmopolitanism encourages openness to difference and obligations to others, it is also "perfectly consistent with picking and choosing among the options" available to us (p. 5). Being a cosmopolitan does not necessitate uniformity or homogeneity. It entails respect and openness to difference with the right to learn, choose and adopt options from encountered differences. Cosmopolitanism, thus, is not "some exalted attainment" (p. xix); rather it is an approach that encourages conversation to foster "habits of coexistence" across differences in an interdependent world (p. xix). Of course, there are moments when there will be tensions between respect for our localities and universal obligations. The challenge is to overcome these tensions with a cosmopolitan perspective.

However, Appiah's (2006) partial cosmopolitanism is problematic upon close investigation. Robbins (2012, p. 40) points out that Appiah's argument regarding the autonomy of local practices shows the inappropriateness of this approach in resolving disputes over culturally contested moral values and practices. Robbins claims that "Appiah does not imagine that collisions will happen between local rooting and translocal justice" (p. 39). This observation has profound implications on an education that prides itself on its multicultural curriculum, an argument that I will come back to it later in the dissertation when discussing the difference between cosmopolitanism and multiculturalism. Robbins criticizes Appiah's view when he writes,

Not only universal ethical reasoning must be informed and qualified by loyalties that properly remain local, as Appiah implies, but also that local loyalties cannot themselves be taken for granted as if they constituted an inviolable realm of privacy, as if their understanding of virtue remains out of bounds to referees even when husbands routinely beat up their wives. (p. 40)

Thus, Robbins (1998) cautions us against endorsing old versions of cosmopolitanism that call for “transcending the distinction between strangers and friends” (p. 3). From another perspective, Calhoun (2003) insists that “cosmopolitanism need not be presented as the universalistic enemy of particular solidarities” and affiliations with “particular solidarities still matter—whether in the forms of nations, ethnicities, local communities, or religions” (p. 532). As Stevenson (2003) contends, “a genuine cosmopolitan dialogue would need to be underpinned by both the acceptance of universal principles and the recognition of difference” (p. 25).

Another view regarding the relationship between nationalism and cosmopolitanism is advanced by Parekh (2003). Parekh advocates “a globally oriented national citizenship” in the form of internationalism to pursue the well-being of our community and humankind (p. 3). He claims this is a better option than either nationalism and cosmopolitanism for the following reasons: cosmopolitanism “is too abstract to generate the emotional and moral energy needed to live up to its austere imperatives, and can also easily become an excuse for ignoring the well-being of the community one knows” (p. 12). Unlike nationalism, globally oriented citizenship reaches out to other communities; and unlike cosmopolitanism, it does not deny the value of our local and special ties.

A globally oriented national citizenship entails moral obligations towards humanity through our political communities and not through a world state (Parekh, 2003). It recognizes the legitimacy of our special ties and at the same time reaches out to people outside our community. Specifically, a globally oriented citizenship fosters a sense of responsibility and active commitment towards the interests of others manifested, for example, by demonstrating against one’s government policies that inflict harm on other nations. In other words, it expands national obligations into global ones without the latter overriding the former and within the limits of the nation’s resources, as Parekh repeatedly emphasizes.

Parekh (2003) argues that this universalist’s claim for such a cosmopolitan thinking is neither desirable nor practical, but an abstract notion that denies the role of our emotions,

passions, and reasons behind our special ties. It is even dangerous because it damages the specificity of our special ties, which is the source that fosters our strong sense of responsibility that animates our lives. We take care of our children as a result of strong personal bonds and commitments to them and not because of a commitment to the great goodness of humanity. Our children also have a strong commitment to and love for us. Our humanity is the result of a mix of human emotions, self-determination, meaningful experiences, and scientific, religious, moral, aesthetic and literary interests, as well as great achievements (p. 4). Humanity, Parekh argues, is not confined to rationality and is not accidental with no moral point of reference. The birth of a child and subsequent nurturing are the result of special ties between the parents themselves and the community as well. Here Parekh echoes Himmelfarb's (1996/2002) argument that our identity is not "accidental", but is formed from essential particularities such as family, community, religion, culture, and the like (p. 77).

Parekh (2003) emphasizes that we do have general duties to others outside our political community. These duties consist of not harming them or destroying their capacity for pursuing their welfare. Thus, we are compelled to help people who are suffering from poverty, oppression, and manipulation when they cannot achieve that on their own because of their weaknesses. We are morally required to extend help to others in need within the limits of our resources and capacities. Human beings should be treated equally and their rights for basic needs and the pursuit of happiness should be respected. Clearly, equality does not mean that we should like every person equally and that each human being should have the same political power, income, and wealth. People possess different capacities and thrive or become weak under particular conditions in their community. Hence, there is no need to sacrifice our own fundamental interests for the sake of all human beings.

In defense of Nussbaum's universal cosmopolitanism, Lu (2000) posits that loyalty and obligation are not mutually exclusive. She states that cosmopolitanism does not require us to abolish our loyalty to our social groups, but to approach loyalty and affiliation from a critical stance. Extending loyalty beyond the group is an exhibition of a larger loyalty that strengthens moral obligations and nurtures commitments to justice and tolerance. Thus, cosmopolitanism, as an ethical perspective, promotes active intervention rather than passivity to overcome injustices at all levels. Lu refutes the claim that a cosmopolitan has no allegiance to a particular society. She argues that a cosmopolitan with multiple roots exhibits solidarity with many other human

beings and “from this plurality we derive various sources of obligation and loyalty, affinity and difference” (p. 257). Thus, cosmopolitanism heightens our awareness of human diversity and the bonds that exist at the individual, group, and community levels. In a pluralistic world in which our human interactions are continuously evolving, cosmopolitanism enables us to “seek a balance between the bonds and boundaries of our public and private universes of obligation, respecting both our common humanity and the rich variety of differences that animate human life” (p. 266). Here, Lu’s insights somehow converge with Scheffler’s (1999) insights along those of a number of other scholars. The following insights regarding the relation between cosmopolitanism and localism support Lu’s argument.

Cosmopolitanism and Localism

The interconnectedness between cosmopolitanism and localism and the need to balance cosmopolitan sensibilities with local ones is an argument that is endorsed by most scholars. Hannerz’s widely cited view “that there can be no cosmopolitans without locals” is a clear expression of this connection (1996, p. 111). Hansen (2010a) states that cosmopolitanism and the local are in symbiotic relationship rather than in opposition. Both the cosmopolitan and the local are against parochialism. Stevenson proposes “a form of a cosmopolitan localism that could criticise the placelessness evident in certain versions of global citizenship while seeking to promote fluid and complex understanding of place” (p. 288). Saito, (2010) argues that what is considered *local* is actually *glocal*, because people form multiple associations that are local and global on a daily basis. Therefore, the Stoic metaphor of a series of concentric circles does not apply to our contemporary world; rather, Saito suggests that we are local and global actors connected to people and objects in multiple networks across local and national boundaries even if we do not frequently travel. For example, a Japanese man in the United States can have more social attachments to his physically distant family in Japan, and his Indian wife’s family in India than his Caucasian neighbors or coworkers in the United States.

It is useful at this point to refer to Hollinger’s (1995/2000) distinction between cosmopolitanism and universalism. Hollinger contends that both universalism and cosmopolitanism are skeptical of “enclosures,” but cosmopolitanism is also concerned with the diversity of humankind in terms of acceptance, recognition, and engagement with diversity (p. 84). Universalism seeks to establish common ground and sees diversity as a potential problem.

Cosmopolitanism and Human Rights

The conception of human rights is the central focus of contemporary cosmopolitanism as described in the works of scholars including Jones (2010), Pogge (2008), Van Hooft (2009), Levy and Sznaider (2004), and many others. For example, Jones (2010) links moral cosmopolitanism to human rights, a perspective that he labels as ‘human rights cosmopolitanism’ (115). He argues against the silence of human rights on issues that are culturally controversial in terms of social justice and political legitimation. Further, Jones contends that the “sufficiency view is inadequate if it is blind to the consequences of the inequalities it allows,” inequalities in the distribution of wealth and power (p. 121). Thus, in its call for impartiality, moral cosmopolitanism should address these inequalities.

In addition, Butler (1996/2002) asserts that human rights are limited by culture, and thus universally limited as well. She questions whether universalism has a transcultural fixed status or is “culturally variable” articulated differently under different cultural circumstances (p. 45). For example, Butler asks, do gays and lesbians have a universal status culturally? It follows that the claim of universalism can be exclusive and become a cultural imposition on others. Butler’s argument highlights the need for a qualitative study that can bring out values and rights that are culturally variable in order to include them in our cosmopolitan sensibilities.

The right of asylum seekers enshrined in the Declaration of Human Rights is another contentious issue in cosmopolitan thought. Derrida’s (1997/2001) insights are relevant to our contemporary reality. Drawing on Kant’s notion of cosmopolitan law, Derrida critically addresses the tension between the ethical right to hospitality and the right to residence. The ethical right to hospitality is unconditional in protecting asylum seekers from persecution or other threats and injustices that they are fleeing. Yet, without control and power from the state, the right of hospitality may be “perverted at any moment” (p. 23). On the other hand, placing a restrictive condition removes this ethical component from it. Here Derrida draws the distinction between refugees who are in need of being protected and immigrants seeking economic gains who are accepted by a state for its economic prosperity. The right of residence is conditional and dependent on the law between nations. Derrida does not offer a specific resolution regarding the hospitality issue, but contends that there is a need for reflection on these two rights and their relevant limitations in order to transform the law and improve it. Similarly, Derrida addresses the contradiction embedded in the paradox “forgive the unforgivable” to attain human justice (p. 39).

As well, he claims that if we only forgive the forgivable, “then the very idea of forgiveness would disappear” (p. 32). He also argues that idea of forgiveness is mostly politically abused for the following reason:

Because it always has to do with negotiations more or less acknowledged, with calculated transactions, with conditions and, as Kant would say, with hypothetical imperatives.

These transactions can certainly appear honourable; for example in the name of ‘national reconciliation’, the expression to which de Gaulle, Pompidou, and Mitterand, [former French presidents] all three, returned at the moment when they believed it necessary to take responsibility in order to efface the debts and crimes of the past, under the Occupation or during the Algerian war. (pp. 39-40)

Derrida concurs that this type of forgiveness is entangled with the power of the sovereign that assumes the role of the victim or denies the victim’s voice in saying “I forgive” (p. 59). Although Derrida advocates for pure forgiveness without conditions imposed by the power of the ruler, he acknowledges that this type of forgiveness is impossible to achieve in the time being.

Cosmopolitanism and Multiculturalism

Recently, several theorists have called into question multiculturalism’s effectiveness accusing it of being the “sources of domestic divisions and illiberal appeals to special rights for different groups” (Calhoun, 2003, p. 535). They have stressed the need for an orientation towards cosmopolitanism and its appeals to an allegiance to humanity in addressing the challenges of cultural differences and diversity in a globalized world (p. 535). For example, Hollinger (1995/2000) argues that a distinction between cosmopolitanism and multiculturalism needs to be made clear in order to move from the old discourse of multiculturalism into a discourse that meets the demands of our contemporary society. One crucial issue to be discussed is the extent to which pluralism endorses tolerance and diversity as well as the right of exit from one’s ascribed identity. Unlike cosmopolitanism that seeks to challenge restrictive affiliations in favor of wider ones, pluralism represents a narrow approach to diversity because it gives primacy to distinctive cultural features of groups, community affiliations based on shared history, and the maintenance of preexisting boundaries.

Thus, by defining the individual more in relation to the characteristics of her single traditional community or cultural community, multiculturalism “can sometimes mask a

provinciality from which individuals are eager to escape through new, out-group affiliations” (Hollinger, 1995/2000, p. 107). The extreme version of pluralism is exemplified in the following statement: “You keep the acids of your modernity out of my culture, and I’ll keep the acids of mine away from yours” (p. 85). With respect to religion, Sen (2006) adds that multiculturalism is problematic when it places emphasis on using religion as a priority in categorizing people rather than acknowledging other affiliations and connections such as reason, choice, literature, and language. Sen subscribes to the right of the individual to reason and freely choose to assign more importance to one identity over another and deplores the imposition of a particular identity over an individual by others. In this case, Sen echoes Hollinger’s post-ethnic perspective, as opposed to multiculturalism, on the right of individuals to exit their community or disengage from it to a certain degree in order to form a new identity of their choice. In other words, Raz’s (1994) defense of the “right of exit” from one’s assigned group asserts that identity is not fixed and determined based on the identity of the grandparents (as cited in Hollinger, 1995/2000, p. 117).

Much of cosmopolitan thought considers multiculturalism as a form of plural monoculturalism that perceives ethnic cultures as separate, fixed, and inherited traditional identities (Beck, 2011; Sen, 2006). Plural monoculturalism puts individuals in “little boxes” giving prominence to unchosen and exclusive identity based on religion, social status, political views, language, or any other type of identity formation (Sen, 2006, p. xvi). Accordingly, diverse cultures in a particular society “might pass each other like ships in the night” with no interaction but isolation promoting alienation, sectarian hatred, and domestic divisions (p. 156). Referring to the race riots of 2005 in England, Sen argues that the British government should be concerned not only with hate speech, but also with the way immigrants see themselves as belonging to their particularly fixed community first, “and only *through* that membership see themselves as British” (p. 164, emphasis in original). Therefore, Sen is against the religious-based schools in multiethnic societies such as Britain because they predetermine the ascription of a singular identity on children before they are capable of reasoning for themselves about their choice of different identification. This kind of religious classification engenders social fragmentation and exclusion along religious lines. A nation that consists of a collection of fragmented and isolated religious and ethnic communities is a fertile ground for sectarian violence, Sen argues.

At present, there is a need for a cosmopolitan direction in our understanding of multiculturalism in order to tackle the challenges of diversity. Delanty (2009) calls this approach

cosmopolitanism of the public culture or *critical cosmopolitanism*. Multiculturalism is about recognition of diversity and respect for fixed identities by keeping them separate and confined to the private sphere. According to Delanty, however, critical cosmopolitanism entails the dissolution of these identities through a communicative process that allows critical deliberation and contestation of all cultural and religious claims in the public sphere. Cosmopolitanism as dialogical process is transformative in the sense that collective identities are negotiated and undergo changes to cultivate mutual learning. Compatibly, it implies moral and political re-evaluation and new orientation of one's cultural beliefs, values, or identities and new conceptions of self-understanding. As a result, this public deliberation takes place in an environment where no culture or religion is exclusively protected by the state or assigned primacy over others. Significantly, this process is not limited to interactions among various groups within a particular nation; it also involves interactions among various societies and civilizations to facilitate cross-cultural learning and internalizing aspects from the other cultures and civilizations. Thus, cosmopolitanism is not only about tolerance, accommodation of difference, and rights; "it is a constructive process of creating new ways of thinking and acting" (p. 252). It is more than a call for co-existence among different cultures but a "transformation in self-understanding" (p. 76). Thus, Delanty's insights have avoided reducing the debate on cosmopolitanism to issues related to multiculturalism and its emphasis on accommodation of minorities, and the politics of identity to account for "a notion of cosmopolitanism as a global normative culture that transcends all rooted cultures, whether ethnic, local or national" (p. 255). He refers to this notion as critical cosmopolitanism in that does not define diversity only in terms of immigration and cultural differences. Diversity can be associated with worldviews, lifestyles, generations, civilizations, gender, social class and moral values. Any type of diversity can be divisive and lead to conflicts in society. Therefore, while multiculturalism is reduced to deal with the challenges of migration diversity, cosmopolitanism seeks a common public culture that cuts across various types of diversities. As already stated, cosmopolitanism is concerned with critical interaction with the Self and the Other and how this engagement leads "to problematization of one's own assumptions as well as those of the Other" and transformation of self-understanding (p. 16). Regarding the conception of religion in secular societies, Delanty claims that the secularization of societies, particularly with the focus of social policies on recognition of difference or separation of the public from the private in religious, cultural or ethnic matters,

does not lead to democratic pluralism and integration of immigrants, but to their marginalization. For these reasons, Delanty emphasizes the need to bridge the gap between national policies advocating multiculturalism and cosmopolitan inter-cultural dialogue to solve issues related to integration of diversity and minority rights.

From a different angle, Beck (2011) argues that multiculturalism classifies homogenous groups into “little nations” embedded in one nation to serve the competitive interests of methodological nationalism regarding citizenship rights and economic distribution (p. 54). He maintains that “the ethnic ‘cultures’ ... are the product of the rules of social construction and fabrication inherent in the nation-state mechanism of representation, distribution of resources and definitions of justice” (p. 54).

Beck (2011) provides three examples that show how the language of multiculturalism hinders “understanding the changing landscapes of cultural diversity” (p. 55). First, the language of multiculturalism obscures the emergence of the concept of “*superdiversity*” as introduced by Steven Vertovec (Beck, 2011, p. 55). Superdiversity entails the “*diversification of diversity*,” which means that the current migration patterns have dramatically changed from traditional ones related to gender, country of origin, and duration of stay, among others, to include new and different variables within these groups (p. 55). For example, the “Philippino [sic] community” in the UK does not only indicate the country of origin, but also a community that consists of “70 percent women aged 20-30 working in the health sector” (p. 55). Second, the language of multiculturalism in many descriptive studies of transnational migration adopts the language of nationalism in portraying immigrants negatively and ignoring their personal narratives rather than considering migration as a local, national, and global phenomenon. Immigrants are portrayed as criminal intruders or a threat to the stability of the nation-state. Similarly, religious diversity is observed within the boundaries of nation-states rather than a universal phenomenon within and across the boundaries of nation-states. Accordingly, Beck argues that both nationalism and multiculturalism reinforce the notion of identity with its entrenched we/they dichotomy. Like Sen (2006), Beck asserts that identity can be exclusive, but he also warns against the language of universalism that denies the particularity and specificity of a particular group, language, or culture. Unlike universalism, cosmopolitanism acknowledges the “dignity of difference” and unlike multiculturalism, cosmopolitanism acknowledges “being equal at the same time” (p. 57).

Cosmopolitanism and Globalization

While Mignolo (2002) differentiates between globalization and cosmopolitanism as two separate phenomena by stating that “globalization is a set of designs to manage the world while cosmopolitanism is a set of projects towards planetary conviviality” (p. 157), Gunesch (2004) identifies two strands of globalization: a diversity strand and a uniformity strand (p. 266). Orłowski (2011) states that globalization is conceived in terms of two opposing meanings. On the one hand, it is associated with global capitalism and its hegemonic practices in relation to investment, trade, and labor mobility; on the other, it is related to a “progressive, cosmopolitan citizen” and human rights (p. 183).

Papastephanou (2005) criticizes the positive perspective of globalization that treats cultural exchanges as a matter of free choice blind to the dynamics of power and control as embedded in notions like McDonaldisation. Therefore, she is concerned with the “ethical dimension of intersubjectivity” of globalization “rather than with the economic growth or techno-informational progress it may facilitate” (p. 538). In other words, the emphasis is on how education can “counterbalance the negative effects of globalization and extend the potentialities of it for all in a democratic fashion” (pp. 537-538).

Papastephanou (2002) draws attention to the negative implications of a discourse on cosmopolitanism in a globalized world despite its apparent lofty aims. For example, she argues that although Nussbaum’s (1996/2002) call to educate students to be citizens of the world sounds positive, it is morally deficient. The reason for educating for world citizenship presented by Nussbaum is that pollution caused by Third World countries could soon reach the US; therefore, US students should learn about the consequences of globalization. With this in mind, Papastephanou observes that this reason reveals that “the global intervention and the role of poor countries in world politics are blatantly disproportionate to those of advanced countries” (p. 76). As Bauman (1998) argues, advanced Western countries benefit tremendously from globalization while poor countries suffer the consequences (as cited in Papastephanou, 2002, p. 76). Papastephanou further maintains that cultivating a global and ethical responsibility in dealing with world problems should not emanate from an abstract concept such as cosmopolitanism, but from conscious recognition of historical forms of exploitations in one’s actions. Papastephanou’s (2002, 2005) insights lead us to further discuss the value and potential of cosmopolitan education.

Cosmopolitan Education

Several scholars interested in cosmopolitanism and cosmopolitan education have discussed cosmopolitan education in a positive and lofty rhetoric, mostly by avoiding opposing views or controversial issues similar to Nussbaum's (1996/2002) discussion of cosmopolitan education. Others have raised this concern and highlighted tensions in cosmopolitan education. The following reveals that cosmopolitan education remains a contested field that lacks specificity about its outcomes; nevertheless, it is worthy of discussion and is a worthwhile goal.

Positive Potentials and Possibilities of Cosmopolitan Education

On the positive front, Heater (2002) stresses the role of education in raising students' awareness of cosmopolitan citizenship. Despite the fact that we are born as citizens of a particular country, Heater argues, our citizenly qualities are not innate; rather, they are developed and maintained by an education for world citizenship. The aim of this education is to develop an intellectual and practical competence as well as to nurture emotions for a wish and a will to be citizens of the world. An intellectual competence fosters the ability of imagining being in the Other's positions, what Nussbaum calls the "narrative imagination" (as cited in Heater, 2002, p. 155). Intellectual competence is a critical capacity to evaluate world issues in the news while the practical skills consist of the actions taken to draw awareness to global problems and attempts to redress them. According to Heater, this education awakens students, first of all, to the fact that their citizenship can be expanded beyond their ethnic, local, and national affiliations. It could reach people from all over the world. Education for world citizenship promotes an intellectual and critical knowledge of other people's cultures, ways of living, and differences that are neither necessarily good nor bad. Broadly speaking, education develops a sense of global interconnectedness and responsibility such as regarding the impact of our acts on the shared ecosphere. It also raises awareness that education is a human right.

Other scholars who have reflected on what cosmopolitan education entails in relation to our interconnected relationships with the world in forms of transnational networks have expressed similar views of its elements, but put them in different ways and with a different focus. For example, Hansen (2010b) defines cosmopolitan minded-education as "thoughtful receptivity to the new and critical loyalty to the known" (p. 1). It encompasses four elements. First, it accounts for local socialization in terms of values, traditions, inheritances, languages, and ways of living in the world. Second, it calls for critical loyalty and reflection on one's perspectives as

well as on Others. In other words, a cosmopolitan person eschews parochialism and is open to learn from other cultures and traditions. Third, educational cosmopolitanism entails a “cosmopolitan inheritance” (p. 12). This education helps students perceive that knowledge of their traditions and inheritances as well as knowledge of Others’ traditions and inheritances enriches their understanding of the world and their contribution to it. Fourth, most teachers are “already cosmopolitan-minded,” capable of fostering moral, intellectual, and aesthetic education to their students and for themselves (p. 13).

Rizvi (2009) uses the term *cosmopolitan learning* (p. 254) to refer to a cosmopolitan education that is “a mode of learning about, and ethically engaging with, new social formations” due to global connectivity and inter-cultural encounters (p. 253). Saito (2010) explains cosmopolitanism as a “subjective dimension of globalization” (p. 334). This means that increased interactions and networking with people and objects from different nationalities foster multiple attachments and associations that lead to openness to others and their cultures. To Saito, this form of cosmopolitanism is based on the actor-network theory rather than the metaphor of the concentric circles that expands allegiance towards humanity. According to actor-network theory, the more people forge connections to other actors, the more active they are. Both Rizvi and Saito inquire into similar elements of cosmopolitan education. While Rizvi names historicity, relationality, criticality, and reflexivity as the elements of cosmopolitan learning (p. 267), Saito discusses relationality, criticality and reflexivity somehow differently with a different focus, and names them as the affective, cognitive, and active dimensions of cosmopolitanism respectively. It is also noticeable that while Saito maintains that the order of these dimensions is not random, i.e., they build on each other sequentially, Rizvi makes a case for relationality, criticality, and reflexivity following the same order. The starting point for both authors is based on the argument that we live in an increasingly interconnected world constantly forging multiple networks of connection across boundaries and group categories that shape our understanding of and transformation in identity, cultural attachments and openness to others. Therefore, both argue for a cosmopolitan education that stresses a practical approach rather than an abstract one based on aspirations. However, it is Saito who provides us with concrete examples on how to implement cosmopolitan education in school curricula and beyond. Saito claims that his approach to cosmopolitan education is “empirically more grounded and feasible” than other approaches to cosmopolitan education, naming particularly Hansen’s (2008b) *educational*

cosmopolitanism that emphasizes primarily critical openness to other ways of life only from a theoretical perspective. The following further elaborates on Rizvi's insights on cosmopolitan education and then on Saito's to shed some light on the practicality of cosmopolitan education.

For Rizvi (2009), cosmopolitan learning ethically and critically addresses global connectivity and transformations without reproducing social inequalities in the search for alternative options to build a better future. This is first achievable by recognizing that people's experiences, social practices, political agency, moral traditions, and the ways they develop their global connectivity and inter-connections are historically and politically situated in specific contexts of inter-cultural encounters. In terms of relationality, cosmopolitan learning should focus on understanding how our social transformations are not only local, but are also the result of connections and cultural exchanges with various communities from around the world. It is based on the view that culture is ever-changing and creative rather than inherited and static. Therefore, Rizvi stresses the importance of fostering "*epistemic virtues*" in students to develop a critical approach to knowing and cross-cultural discourse (p. 264, emphasis in original). Such cosmopolitan learning is best achieved in a transnational environment where students from different backgrounds work collectively to explore how communities react differently to the forces of globalization and how social inequalities are reproduced. Above all, cosmopolitan learning encourages students to stretch their thinking about life options beyond their localities and fosters in them a sense of agency to face these inequalities.

In addition, Rizvi (2009) emphasizes criticality as an essential element of cosmopolitan learning needed to challenge hegemonic structures of power, contest the traditional conceptions of cultural formations, educational practices, and policies, and build humane and democratic global relations. The author maintains that international curricula such as study abroad programs do not cultivate critical thinking about intercultural experiences unless they emphasize the exploration of the political meaning of these experiences within transnational networks. Cosmopolitan learning is not about the development of attitudes and skills to understand cultures. Notably, it is about a critical understanding of how knowledge of Others is created and used to interact with them, and how their cultural differences are "deeply interconnected and relationally defined" constantly leading to new cultural formations as people move from one place to another (p. 266). It is about cultivating a moral responsibility among students that accounts for humanity as a whole in intercultural exchanges. In terms of reflexivity, Rizvi

highlights that reflexivity is a significant element of cosmopolitan learning that facilitates our understanding of global relationships. Drawing on Beck (2000), Rizvi states that reflexivity is exercised when individuals critically recognize their positionality within “asymmetrical configuration of power” and become conscious of and challenge their ideological assumptions of others (p. 267).

For Saito (2010), education for cosmopolitanism as a “subjective dimension of globalization” necessitates the fostering of three principles to help students become citizens of the world (p. 334): first, stretching one’s affective attachments across borders; second, fostering an awareness of transnational connections and their relationships to the students’ everyday lives; and third, encouraging students to transfer these attachments and connections into actions to transform the world and the students themselves (p. 334). Saito maintains that these three principles represent respectively the affective, cognitive, and active dimensions of education. These dimensions build on each other sequentially. The affective capacity is to be addressed first in cosmopolitan education because people develop preferences and positive attitudes to foreign people and cultures before trying to understand them. Drawing on Hicks (2002), Saito places significant emphasis on the role of emotion in cosmopolitan education as a corrective measure to counter the cognitive bias in studies related to global education. For example, students in Saito’s study in Japanese schools showed attachments to other countries based on their interests before exhibiting any understanding of these countries. One student wanted to live in China because she was in a gymnastic class; another one wanted to live in the USA because she was learning English. Through their interests, these students developed affective attachments to foreign countries that encouraged them to acquire knowledge about these countries. Saito contends that without these emotional attachments, it is unlikely that students would care about understanding these countries and their cultures. Hence, the affective attachment comes first and the cognitive one builds on it.

The cognitive element of cosmopolitan education consists of developing an awareness of our multiple transnational connections by examining the cultural objects we use and the people that surround us. In other words, cosmopolitan education fosters an understanding that the local is actually the *glocal* (Saito, 2010, p. 343). However, such an understanding is not enough unless it also empowers students to uncover the power structures that are embedded in these transnational connections and how they are themselves implicated in these structures. For

example, many of the products we use are the outcome of social or economic exploitation elsewhere in the world. It is only when students are able to reach this level of understanding about issues of injustices that they can critically engage in reflection and re-evaluation of their attachments and connections; consequently, they can develop a sense of agency to act on these injustices in the world. That is how progressive citizens of the world are educated. Saito posits that cosmopolitan education involves ethical concerns and cannot ignore dominant and power structures embedded in these connections. It cannot claim indifference to economic exploitation, violence, child labor, and other social issues. It is important to realize that criticality is a crucial component of cosmopolitan education, particularly after students understand their implications in those transnational connections.

Saito (2010) provides an example of a lesson that grounds insights on cosmopolitan education into practical learning towards “taking action to effect changes across national borders” (p. 344). Briefly, a lesson involving an Integrated Study with Grade 6 students during 2005-2006 in a Japanese school introduced students to the dilemma of Cambodian children who suffered the consequences of a devastating war. The lesson cultivated attachments among students towards these children. The students also developed critical “understandings of transnational connections” and were involved in a critical reflection of their emotions towards Cambodian children (p. 344). Consequently, the students engaged in multiple fund-raising initiatives to build a school to Cambodian Children. Saito asserts that

The action component of cosmopolitan education recruits students to a subject position of participant or citizen. So long as children and adolescents are confined to the subject position of student, they tend to be subordinated to teachers; however, once they are positioned as citizens in their own right, they can feel more empowered. (p. 344)

Saito points out that these students might have genuinely cared for Cambodian children or they might just enjoyed participating in the activity. The reflective component of cosmopolitan education could help students to re-assess their feelings.

The chart on the next page helps to clarify the intersections among the various theories of cosmopolitan education including those I discussed throughout the chapter so far.

Key Authors	Characteristics of Cosmopolitan Education
Nussbaum (1996/2002)	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Enhancement of self-knowledge 2. Global dialogue in solving international problems 3. Recognition of moral obligations to rest of the world 4. Cultivating the capacity to cross boundaries in minds and imaginations
Rizvi (2009)	<p>Cosmopolitan education is a “mode of learning about, and ethically engaging with, new social formations” due to global connectivity and intercultural encounters (p. 253).</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Historicity 2. Relationality 3. Criticality 4. Reflexivity
Saito (2010)	<p>Cosmopolitanism is a “subjective dimension of globalization” (p. 334), which means that interactions with people and objects from different nationalities lead to openness to others and their cultures.</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Relationality (Affective) 2. Criticality (Cognitive) 3. Reflexivity (Active)
Hansen (2010b)	<p>Cosmopolitanism is a “thoughtful receptivity to the new and critical loyalty to the known” (p. 1).</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Presupposition of local socialization 2. Critical disposition towards roots, cultures, and traditions 3. “Curriculum as a cosmopolitan inheritance” (p. 12) 4. “Already cosmopolitan-minded teachers” (p. 13)
Smith (2007)	<p>Cosmopolitanism based on Hannah Arendt’s notion of <i>worldliness</i> (p. 38).</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. “Adoption of a self-reflective mode of being in the world” 2. “Cultivation of a heightened care” and interests in the events of the world (p. 37) 3. Skillful disclosure to the world.

Figure 2: Intersections among various conceptions of cosmopolitanism and cosmopolitan education

Cosmopolitan Tensions in Education

These positive purposes and possibilities of a cosmopolitan education have not remained uncontested. The cosmopolitan idea itself is highly contested and anchored in different views about global interactions and connectivity (Rizvi, 2009, p. 255). Several authors have raised concerns about the meaning, potentials, and possibilities of cosmopolitan education. For example, Waldron (2003) points out that Nussbaum’s debate is also characterized by the tension

between moral education for universalistic ends and moral education related to a particular society. In defense of universal cosmopolitanism, Waldron claims that what is a morally universalistic or abstract reflection is actually embedded in the particularity of one's community, church, constitution, and history. For example, human rights are universalistic moral ideals that we learn about in our own nation's constitution and are valuable to our particular community. Thus, Waldron asserts that "cosmopolitan moral education is not just an education in moral ideals," but also "an education in the *particular* ways in which people have inhabited the world" (p. 26, emphasis in original).

On the other hand, McConnell (1996/2002) argues against Nussbaum from a decidedly conservative perspective. He strongly maintains that moral education for universalistic ends as advocated by Nussbaum (1996/2002) in "*opposition* to 'patriotism' or 'national pride'" is destructive (p. 79). Teaching a child to be a 'citizen of the world' is teaching an abstraction that may lead to cynicism and skepticism towards one's affiliations and to "selfish individualism," but not loyalty to a moral community (p. 82). McConnell stresses that affection in a child is nurtured first in relationships close to home, such as in the love of parents, and then with time these relationships stretch towards family and neighbors before they expand outwards towards the larger community. Later in the life of a child, the study of history cultivates this affection towards the nation and then the world. It is this affection, McConnell argues, that teaches us tolerance of people close to us as well as imperfections in our culture or religion. This affection is translated into forgiveness and tolerance towards "flaws" in other cultures (p. 80). Here I would like to point out the use of the terms *flaws* instead of *difference* and *forgiveness* rather than *openness* in McConnell's work, which implies a normative negative perception of the Other as being flawed and sinful. In other words, our relationship with the Other is always framed with tolerance and forgiveness rather than with empathy, care, and connections. McConnell's claim here highlights the limits of cosmopolitan openness discussed below.

McConnell (1996/2002) disapproves of the way Nussbaum (1996/2002) considers religious ties as "special affections and identifications" and equates them with gender-based and ethnic ties. The author strongly highlights the role of religion in teaching against selfishness and parochial nationalism. He envisions that the future generation that will embody moral commitments of respect towards their communities and other cultures "will not be the products of an explicitly cosmopolitan education, but of home schooling, of religious schooling, of

schooling in culturally and morally self-confident communities” (p. 84). As already noted, this argument that juxtaposes cosmopolitanism in stark contrast to nationalism has been widely discussed in the literature.

Other critics of cosmopolitanism and cosmopolitan education have taken up other concerns. For example, Cheah (1998), Papastephanou (2002), Derrida (2002) and Todd (2009) argue that this concept “glosses over the complexities of pluralism and cross-cultural, transnational relations” and calls instead for an emphasis “on the process of turning dissonance into legitimate forms of political struggle” (Todd, 2010, p. 216). For example, Papastephanou (2002) has contested the notion of belonging to a common humanity as a core tenet of cosmopolitanism by pointing out the risks involved in such an assumption on our relation to Otherness and its impact on the philosophy of education. She argues that this assumption of a common humanity states that “we share properties that unite us and that are more deep-seated than our differences” (74). This is a risky assumption because it assigns a concrete definition to common humanity, a definition against which other cultures could be evaluated in terms of their closeness or distance of this common humanity leading to discrimination of what is seen as different. To clarify her point, Papastephanou draws on postmodernist thinkers who view collectivity or a bounded community as a path for ethnocentrism, contradictions, and tyranny. Further, the author maintains that teaching children to think of themselves as cosmopolitan raises concerns about ‘why teach about other cultures?’ (p. 72). From this perspective, the author contends that Nussbaum’s approach to education “ignores the inherent worth of any particular culture” and remains a matter of formality in education.

Papastephanou (2002) also cautions against the “contentious language of identification and empathy” in educational curriculum when speaking on behalf of the Other (p. 74). She criticizes Nussbaum’s claim that nurturing “narrative imagination” of the Other through role-playing engenders empathy. This pedagogy has the potential to deny the Other her voice, Papastephanou argues. To provide an example that supports her argument, she refers to Young’s (1997) claim that research has provided evidence that the life choices of non-handicapped people who assumed an imaginary role of handicapped persons were markedly different than those of the handicapped. Her observation here highlights the limits of such a feature of cosmopolitan education.

Another critic of moral education for universalistic ends, Todd (2009), advocates an education that recognizes the imperfection of humanity rather than an education that promotes humanity as an end by itself. Todd supports an education that problematizes issues related to cross-cultural understanding, human rights, global citizenship, global democracy, and cosmopolitanism in its attempt to create a just and peaceful world for future generations. It is an education that aims to “*face*” rather than “*cultivate*” humanity by confronting violence, injustices, and hatred across difference (p. 9, emphasis in original). Namely, it seeks to “promote a critical awareness of the ways in which our ‘talk’ about humanity, rights, citizenship, and belonging can mask the complexity of human pluralism” in the various discourses about cosmopolitanism (p. 49).

Todd (2010) further offers a critical-political approach to cosmopolitanism, which she calls “agonistic cosmopolitics” (p. 213), to reframe education in dealing with cultural conflicts and the complexity of pluralism that multiculturalism has failed to address in a “worldly” manner (p. 214). She is critical of the views of scholars such as Nussbaum (1997), Beck (2006), and Benhabib (2006) who project a view of universal cosmopolitanism that circumvents confrontation with intercultural interactions to promote global democracy based on a dialogical model and human rights. From her lens, she contends that “agonistic cosmopolitics” is an approach “that emphasizes the importance of antagonism for democratic political struggle and that attends to the particularities of these antagonisms in their specific political contexts” (p. 215). Todd builds her arguments on Mouffe’s (2005) view of pluralism that emphasizes differences being irreconcilable but legitimate in the struggle to counter-hegemonic measures to achieve a sense of equality and liberty in society. She explains that Mouffe’s (2005) view of the world order as “multipolar” suggests that global democracy is established not by appeals to universal principles, but by recognition of differences in worldviews. Following Mouffe’s (2005) line of thought, Todd is concerned in exploring how confronting the complexities of pluralism can better educate students in peaceful interaction. Specifically, she addresses the controversy surrounding Muslim sartorial practices such as the wearing of the burqa, hijab, niqab, and jilbab (p. 214). She suggests that agonistic cosmopolitanism grants dissonant and silenced voices, such as the voices of Muslim women and girls, the political right to contest what is liberty and equality to them and how that understanding is related to democracy. Todd refutes the expulsion of girls wearing the hijab in France because this practice is assumed to contradict liberal

democratic values. However, her acknowledgement that we may not agree with these gendered cultural practices without providing basis for this disagreement or further exploration other than they do not conform to the Western values seems to suggest that she is avoiding confrontation with issues regarding group rights versus individuals' rights.

On the other hand, Wallerstein (1996/2002) cautions us against the ambiguous notion of *citizen of the world* that has the potential to both challenge privilege as well as sustain it. In reference to the context of the United States, he maintains that holders of privileges want a form of “‘integrating’ patriotism” to address the claims of minorities and oppressed groups, claims that are becoming more based on ethnocentrism than on universal human values in the struggle for equality (p. 124). Therefore, Wallerstein argues, “the response to a self-interested patriotism is not a self-congratulatory cosmopolitanism” (p. 124). To develop an egalitarian and democratic world, we need to seek the abolition of existing inequalities. For the most part, education should focus on teaching about our unequal positionality in the world that is the result of complicated ways of combining our global and parochial stances in our social world.

These insights highlight the complexity of cosmopolitan education and the multitude of intricacies involved. Despite these complexities, these insights invite us to further conduct a critical investigation of hidden and underlying dynamics that are shaping different views before we issue a quick endorsement of them. The challenges and limitations discussed next also contribute to this critical investigation.

Challenges and Limitations

The academic literature on cosmopolitanism raises numerous concerns about the challenges and limitations regarding its feasibility and desirability beyond abstractions and across boundaries and group categories. These concerns are related to cultural controversies, nationalistic sentiments, politics of identity, communitarian concerns, Western imperialistic ambitions, and many more issues. I assume that the previous discussion has already revealed the existence of various confrontational issues. The arguments in the following section flow from this discussion to bring to the fore particular themes in the cosmopolitan debate. These are:

- Cosmopolitanism and xenophobic nationalism
- Cosmopolitanism and unresolved historical conflicts
- Cosmopolitanism and the complexity of identity

- The fear of imperialistic cosmopolitanism
- Equating cosmopolitanism with neoliberalism
- Limit of cosmopolitan openness

Cosmopolitanism and Xenophobic Nationalism

Nussbaum's debate discussed above has already revealed how resolved are nationalists against the concept of cosmopolitanism. When nationalistic sentiments are mobilized, nationalism turns into xenophobia. It becomes hostile to cosmopolitanism (Heater, 2002). For example, conservative governments favor blind patriotism politically and educationally. Loyalty to the state is reinforced while any attempt to educate for global citizenship is looked at with skepticism. Nationalistic sentiments that would deplore any teaching for global citizenship are also invoked. Further, in economically difficult times, politicians fuel animosity against immigrant groups depicting them "as 'stealing' wealth and opportunities from the 'true' nationals of the state" (p. 162).

Cosmopolitanism and Unresolved Historical Conflicts

One of the crucial challenges to cosmopolitanism as advocated by Nussbaum is that it *"overlooks the historical-relational dimension of cross-cultural encounters and the impediments posed by unresolved historical conflicts to the goal of cultural reconciliation* (Papastephanou, 2002, p. 69, emphasis in original). Papastephanou observes that Nussbaum refers to cross-cultural encounters as synchronic phenomena resulting from interactions of the new generation with Otherness through travel, communication, working abroad, essential cooperation with differences, and openness to new lifestyle, among others (p. 77). She maintains that Nussbaum (1996/2002) is oblivious to the fact that culture is also diachronic and that our cross-cultural encounters between the I and the Other are historically entangled shaping our feelings, assumptions, and misconceptions of the other. The teaching of history today overlooks its association with past conflicts, prejudices, and xenophobia and is more geared towards nationalism and patriotism, which ends up excluding and repressing particular meanings for ideological and economic interests (Papastephanou, 2002; Orlowski, 2011). The justification for such a superficial approach in teaching history for cosmopolitan ends is that engagement with past historical events and conflicts may hinder progress towards non-discrimination and reconciliation. Such approaches to the teaching of history serve the interests of past "predatory" cultures that prefer to "let bygones be bygones" (Papastephanou, 2002, p. 80). They "overlook

the debt such conflicts create or have created, responsibilities and obligations that if not settled somehow and agreed upon will always impede world justice and reconciliation” (p. 79). Accordingly, Papastephanou endorses a cosmopolitan education that acknowledges a painful past in relation to the Other and calls for forgiveness and “*request*” of forgiveness and apologies not yet delivered (p. 81, emphasis in original). Thus, cosmopolitan education is not only about peaceful interactions, but also about reconciliation with historical realities of an antagonistic past. In anticipation of the analysis of the social studies curriculum in Saskatchewan high schools, I contend that Papastephanou’s argument is highly relevant to the analysis of this curriculum and its representation of the Canadian history of encounters with Aboriginal peoples.

Cosmopolitanism and the Complexity of Identity

Identity is enmeshed in social, economic, political, cultural, national, racial, religious, and gender issues. Each issue is dynamic and never fixed in a fast moving world and is itself complicated and ambiguous. On one hand, the new possibilities offered to people through internationalization, such as Internet usage, trading, mobility, working and doing research internationally, have loosened the tie of exclusivity between political identity and the nation; hence, community life is not limited anymore to location (Beck, 2002). Similarly, Warf (2012) believes that the forces of globalization in an interconnected world are contributing to the gradual decline of nationalism. Others posit that there is a radical increase in classifying people based on unique identities whether national, religious or cultural. For example, several factors have contributed to radical invigoration of national identity in some regions of the world and increased the waves of disenchantment between nationalism and cosmopolitanism. Global factors include the events of September 11, the fear of fundamentalist Islam, interventionist US foreign policy, and the fact that international institutions are gaining more and more power (Koczanowicz, 2010, p. 145). Consequently, as Sen (2006) contends, when national identity becomes exclusive and unique, it foments divisions and discord and becomes a significant challenge to any ethical concept that emphasizes our shared humanity: “within-group solidarity can help to feed between group discord” (p. 2). Sen warns that “the imposition of an allegedly unique identity” promotes violence and provokes sectarian confrontation (p. xiii). Often, the source of violence and brutality in the world is the instigation of a unique, hardened and exclusive identity based on culture or religion. The world has witnessed so many atrocities in the name of this exclusive identity. Recent examples include the conflicts in Bosnia, Rwanda,

Sudan, Kosovo, Palestine, Israel, Timor, and to add to Sen's list, Syria, Iraq, Afghanistan, Egypt, and Kenya, as well as others.

Further, there is difficulty in making others perceive our identity the way we see ourselves, asserts Sen (2006). There are two serious consequences to this difficulty: first, people in a targeted group are misrepresented by usually being assigned a denigrating characteristic. Second, this misrepresentation of identity is imposed on the targeted person as a unique identity. Again, it is this confounded ascription of degrading identities on people from different cultures or religions that fuels violence around the world. It also ignites resistance to assert our shared humanity and denies the plurality of our identities which both are essential ingredients for a harmonious living with each other.

Sen (2006) emphasizes that we cannot escape the plurality of our loyalty and identity. The same person can have his ancestry different than his geographic origin than his citizenship. He can be a Christian, a vegetarian, a musician, an environmental activist, have particular sport interests, and so forth at the same time. None of these identities is unique, but a person may decide to give attention to a particular one in certain contexts. Sen contends that we usually have a choice in giving priority to a particular identity or affiliation over another one. He argues against the communitarian belief that a communal identity is not a matter of choice but of self-determination.

The Fear of an Imperialistic Cosmopolitanism

Lu (2000) states that critics see cosmopolitanism as an imperialistic approach. In this view, cosmopolitanism aims at establishing a world order through coercion and hegemony because it addresses humanity as a unity based on reason, and aspires for human harmony by negating differences among men and women: "scratch a cosmopolitan and you'll find an imperialist just below the surface" (Beiner, 1989, as cited in Lu, 2000, p. 251). Lu's response to these critics is that all ethical concepts can be corruptible when wrongly conceived by the concept of absolutism. Absolutism attempts to eradicate conflict by attempting to homogenize pluralism and difference in the human condition. To accomplish this kind of homogeneity, absolutism justifies all kinds of cruelty and injustices against its enemies. Lu reminds us that cosmopolitanism refers to harmonious plurality as expressed in its ordinary usage as when we refer to a cosmopolitan city where tolerance of plurality is experienced. Tolerance is an active

intervention that prohibits us from committing injustices in promoting our understanding of truth and good in the public and private spheres as well as in the international and domestic ones.

Similarly, Miller (2002) argues that cosmopolitanism is an “imperialist project [of a world government] in which existing cultural differences were either nullified or privatised” (p. 80). Miller states that we live in political communities that protect our cultural values, beliefs, rights and duties by political means and also provide the resources needed to support their members and give them benefits such as, for example, old age pension. The members also voluntarily contribute back to their respective communities. Of course, there are compulsory contributions such as paying taxes, but most members consider and accept this contribution as an obligation towards their political community. Consequently, they develop a sense of responsibility and moral commitment to their own communities that is different than their commitments to other ones. This does not mean that there is no reason for the existence of global obligations: “it means that our duties have to be differentiated” (p. 83). Therefore, Miller claims, when cosmopolitanism calls for equal obligations to everyone else in the world, it is only attainable through a political world government that protects equal rights to all the people, which can be only done at the expense of either privatizing cultural projects or nullifying cultural differences. Such a world project denies the existence of cultural differences among societies that their members find valuable and seek their protection politically. Glazer (1996/2002) warns that the developing world is skeptical and therefore resistant against adopting cosmopolitanism values. To the developing world, “the advocacy of cosmopolitan values is often viewed suspiciously as an arrogant insistence by formerly colonial powers, that their values, Western values, be adopted” (p. 64).

For Mouffe (2005), the idea of global governance is a “dangerous illusion” because it only means the hegemony of one dominant power that could impose its ‘rational’ interests on others (p. 107). Consequently, any form of conflict would be considered an illegitimate challenge to its interests. Mouffe strongly asserts that the “hegemonic dimension of the political” is ignored in any conception of cosmopolitanism (p. 106). She states, “since power relations are constitutive of the social, every order is by *necessity* a hegemonic order” (106). In other words, Mouffe is skeptical of the idea of a global democracy whereby citizens could enjoy the same rights and obligations. Such a model necessitates a one world government, under control of the West, that imposes its model on others claiming it is the best way to ensure the protection of universal

values and human rights (p. 103). Mouffe also contends that actors who participate in negotiations among interest groups and various types of associations seek to achieve a rational consensus or compromise that is hegemonic rather than an active engagement of citizens with the political, which consists of challenging that hegemony (p. 104). This discussion leads us to another challenge to cosmopolitanism, namely, when cosmopolitanism is equated with neoliberalism.

Equating Cosmopolitanism with Neoliberalism

Cosmopolitanism is seen as an ideological tool serving the interests of transnational corporations and the elite (Warf, 2012, p. 284). The world has witnessed an increase in the formulation of international regulations and global political and economic governance by promoting the internationalization of finance, trade and production; the idea of a world state or world citizenship is endorsed by neoliberals because it promotes political democracy which Robinson (1996) sees it as polyarchy (as cited in Went, 2004). Polyarchy means that a small elite group takes control of decision-making and leadership in elections. Proponents of this strategy of global governance are referred to as neo-liberal cosmopolitans. It is assumed that expansion of global trade will itself lead to the individual's freedom, choice, mobility, innovation, cultural tolerance, and peace as well as cosmopolitan sensibilities (Rizvi, 2009, p. 259). However, it can also lead to the violation of social justice and security and the worsening of social inequalities (Beck, 2002).

Warf (2012) differentiates between cosmopolitanism and neoliberalism by stating that "equating cosmopolitanism with neoliberalism fails to engage with its moral critique, its hostility to injustice and inequality" (p. 284). He argues that the agenda of cosmopolitanism is morally aimed at protecting the underprivileged and condemning inequality and injustices in the world. In contrast, neoliberalism serves the free market by protecting the politically powerful and wealthy. Therefore, it is essential that future research focus on how to alleviate the injustices of neoliberalism (if possible) by the establishment of local regional and international institutions. These injustices include dismantling collective bargaining, rights of workers, privatizing the commons, deregulation of industry, and corporate cuts (Orlowski, 2011). Moreover, Orlowski contends that neoliberalism promotes the concept of the autonomous individual. This idea provides a major obstacle to organizing against oppressive forces as it discourages each person to consider themselves as part of social groups. Institutions that effectively resisted hegemonic

power, such as trade unions, are becoming weakened and more fragile in the face of the powerful neoliberal machine. In terms of social justice, however, any incremental success in the direction of cosmopolitanism is worth a try.

Limits of Cosmopolitan Openness

The literature on cosmopolitanism abounds with theoretical debates on the limits of the cosmopolitan values and the nature of these values as discussed above. However, there are few studies that address these limitations qualitatively. For example, Skrbis and Woodward (2007) have conducted a qualitative study to explore the limitations of cosmopolitan openness among ordinary cosmopolitans. They adopted an approach that considers cosmopolitan dispositions neither as fixed attributes nor as increasingly evolving ones, but as possibilities available to be used at times, and interfering with other personal and social issues and beliefs at other times. In other words, cosmopolitanism is “not an ever-expanding frontier of the global community that people in all places and times increasingly adopt as it were part of an evolutionary adaptation” (p. 735). The findings of their study suggest that positive experiences with other cultures, such as the possibility to communicate with people at a distance due to communication technologies, to consume cultural products, and to engage for self-development with others, encouraged the participants to deploy cosmopolitan openness. On the other hand, negative experiences such as the fear of exploitation, pollution, and cultural homogeneity, among others, contribute to fear, anxiety, and exclusion and weaken cosmopolitan openness. As Skrbis and Woodward put it, “globally-derived cosmopolitan openness is counterbalanced by various allegiances, anxieties, and self-interests” (p. 736). In other words, when tension arises between local particularities and cultural differences, ordinary cosmopolitanism as an intermittently used approach, is “a negotiated frame of reference” that facilitates the reconciliation of our cultural differences (p. 745).

Conclusion

In conclusion, the analytic review of the literature on cosmopolitanism is indicative of various trends and issues that have implications for our understanding of cosmopolitanism and cosmopolitan education. While scholars have strived to advocate one form of cosmopolitanism and cosmopolitan education over another, this analytical review has sought to explore intersections, connections, and tensions among the various voices of cosmopolitanism, their

relations to other concepts, and its challenges and limitations without losing sight of its two main core tenets, namely, moral and cultural commitments. However, it is by no means conclusive or comprehensive. What this analysis brings to the fore is the omissions, avoidance, ambiguities, and contradictions that emerge from juxtapositions and critiques of various conceptions.

Further, the purpose of this analytical approach is to build bridges for negotiations among the voices of cosmopolitanism in order to approach a coherent formulation that could be empirically applied at a wider scale. Constructing these bridges is feasible in light of this review, which shows that cosmopolitanism as a construct has the potential to fulfill the conditions needed to cultivate an education that transforms the consciousness of students. These conditions are, according to Papastephanou (2005), the need for cosmopolitanism to demonstrate its dissociation from ethnocentrism, rootless tourism, and the belief in the inherent antagonism in humanity (p. 547). In this context, cosmopolitanism is not mere utopianism. Rather it is a possibility that needs to be dialogically and politically constructed in the public space and in education.

CHAPTER III: Methodology

This chapter explains how this research was conducted by drawing upon a variety of features of a qualitative case study to collect, analyze, and report the findings. It addresses the research design, conceptual framework, participant descriptions, data collection, data analysis procedures, trustworthiness, and interdisciplinarity of the study. Before I proceed to describe the methodology, it is useful to reiterate the statement of purpose. The aim of this qualitative case study is to investigate to what extent the formal social studies curriculum in grades 9 to 12 in Saskatchewan high schools integrates or reflects cosmopolitan perspectives in an increasingly interconnected world. It aims to identify intersections and gaps between the current social studies curriculum and cosmopolitan education. As Wotherspoon (2014) states,

Education in its various guises, conveys important insights about particular kinds of societies and the people within them. The analysis of educational structures, practices, and outcomes can help us to understand, for example, what kinds of values, beliefs, and ideologies prevail in a given society, how people learn about and become organized within particular social structures, and how open and democratic that society is. (p. 2)

Thus, the analysis of the social studies curriculum and the five interviews with social studies teachers of grades 9, 10, 11, 12 in Saskatchewan high schools serves as two sources that produce meanings about how we conceive our interrelated relationships in a globalized world and generate an understanding of what kind of society we live in.

Research Design

There are two data sources: The Saskatchewan Social Studies 9 to 12 curriculum and five interviews with social studies teachers in Saskatchewan high schools. For the purpose of this study, the research method consists of two parts: qualitative case study and critical discourse analysis.

Qualitative Case Study

First, considering that this research seeks to increase our understanding of “how” and “why” a complex social phenomenon such as cosmopolitanism works through the evaluation of the social studies curriculum in Saskatchewan high schools, the case study is selected as the appropriate approach of one part of the research method (Yin, 2014, p. 4). Second, the case study

is preferably used when the research “questions require an extensive and ‘in-depth’ description” of some social phenomenon” (p. 4). As the literature review demonstrated, a thorough review of the complex social phenomenon known as cosmopolitanism and a review of the social studies curriculum in Saskatchewan high schools are needed to illuminate the research questions.

According to Merriam (2009),

The case study offers a means of investigating complex social units consisting of multiple variables of potential importance in understanding the phenomenon. Anchored in real-life situations, the case study results in a rich and holistic account of a phenomenon....An applied field’s processes, problems, and programs can be examined to bring about understanding that in turn can affect and perhaps even improve practice. Case study has proven particularly useful for studying educational innovations, evaluating programs, and informing policy. (pp. 50-51)

It follows that this case study falls under evaluation research that “collects data or evidence on the worth or value of a program, process, or technique” (Merriam, 2009, p. 4). It is also interpretive because the researcher believes that there is no fixed social reality, but multiple realities and multiple perspectives that can be brought to explain a particular event (p. 8).

Interpretive research allows the researcher to bring her own interpretation to bear on the research analysis (Creswell, 2012, p. 238). My scholarly line of inquiry is associated with social constructionism that places emphasis on “how reality is socially constructed” (p. 23) and claims “that knowledge arises from processes more related to ideology, interests, or power” (Alvesson & Sköldbberg, 2000/2009, p. 23). For instance, state-sanctioned official knowledge is usually in the interests of those who have power (Orlowski, 2011). I will examine the Saskatchewan curriculum from this perspective.

The qualitative case study is also pertinent to the proposed study because it seeks to understand the perspectives of social studies teachers in Saskatchewan high schools in analyzing and evaluating the curriculum. Merriam (2009) states that “qualitative researchers are interested in understanding how people interpret their experiences, how they construct their worlds, and what meaning they attribute to their experiences” (p. 5). Rather than just reviewing the social studies curriculum and evaluate it theoretically, I am interested in understanding how high school teachers interpret it and engage with it in the teaching/learning process, and how they construct their worldviews in relation to this curriculum in a diverse classroom and community.

Further, this case study is bounded by *time, place, and other concrete boundaries* (Yin, 2014, pp. 32-34): the unit of analysis is the *current* social studies curriculum in *Saskatchewan high schools*. The extent of the presence or absence of the principles of a cosmopolitan education in the curriculum as outlined in the review of the literature in Chapter Two forms a concrete boundary of this research.

Another aspect of this case study is grounded in critical research “to critique and challenge, to transform and empower,” and to raise consciousness (Merriam, 2009, p. 10). Critical research aims to activate a collective action that tackles pressing issues caused by cultural, political, socioeconomic (Merriam, 2009), religious, racist, and other discriminatory practices. Merriam states that the central concern of critical research is not only understanding societal issues but also to critique and question how power dynamics serve the interests of some at the expense of others, how knowledge is constructed, and what the nature of truth is (p. 35). This critical aspect of the case study guides the second part of the research methodology through the use of critical discourse analysis. The following is a description of the relevance of critical discourse analysis to this study.

Critical Discourse Analysis.

Critical discourse analysis (CDA) is a useful methodology because it is concerned with “*studying social phenomena which are necessarily complex and thus require a multidisciplinary and multi-methodical approach*” (Wodak & Meyer, 2009, p. 2, emphasis in original). No one discipline in isolation can provide insights into investigating, analyzing, and finding solutions to social problems (Wodak, 2002). Further, researchers use different methodologies, select different data, and provide their respective definitions of concepts such as power, ideology, ideology critique, discourse, and other related notions in relation to their research projects (Wodak & Meyer, 2009). Through discursive examination, CDA seeks to uncover contradictions among different discourses as well as within discourses to reveal why particular claims of a certain discourse seem valid despite validity being bound by time and place (Jäger & Maier, 2009). Both social studies and cosmopolitanism critically draw on multiple theories and methods across disciplines in the study of complex social problems, as already noted. Both fields are comprised of and entangled with many different discourses such as multiculturalism, citizenship, global ethics, nationalism, globalization, and many others. Within these discourses, we encounter a multitude of contentious arguments, consensus, disagreements, and claims to absolute truth.

Thus, the interdisciplinarity of CDA seems relevant to this study. I will elaborate on the interdisciplinarity of this research below.

CDA is used as a critical analysis of text, speech, semiotic practices, social practices, situated communications, and interactions in various contexts such as cultural, social, historical, and political. Its general aim is to identify how societal power relations construct and reproduce hegemonic discourses to dominate and exacerbate social inequalities by the powerful elites through discursive practices at both micro- and macro-level domains of society (Van Dijk, 2008). In other words, CDA contributes to the analysis of members of society and their interactions (at the micro level as text and talk). It also illuminates relations between macro-structures of societies such as institutions, organizations, and movements (Van Dijk, 2009). At the macro level, CDA contributes to the analysis of collective meanings rather than subjective ones. The relationship between micro and macro is crucial in critical discourse analysis (Note that Van Dijk prefers the use of Critical Discourse Studies (CDS) rather than CDA to include critical theory and critical applications (Van Dijk, 2009, p. 62). To avoid confusion, I use the term CDA in reference to his insights). Van Dijk (2009) provides a clear description of the significance of this analysis, which is worth quoting at length to differentiate the use of critical discourse analysis in this dissertation from various other approaches:

It is generally assumed that society and its structures – as well as its structures of inequality – are ‘locally’ produced by its members. Yet, I additionally assume that such local production in interaction is possible only if members have shared social representations such as knowledge and ideologies. In that sense, ‘local’ social interaction is again ‘enabled’ by a macro dimension such as the social cognitions of collectivities. But then again, such a macro dimension is itself constructed cognitively by the mental representations of groups of individual social actors. (p. 80)

It follows that, in real life, the micro and macro dimensions of CDA are not two separate entities, but are simultaneously integrated. The analysis of these dimensions is only possible when they are interpreted in terms of social practices and contextualized discourses (Van Dijk, 2009).

CDA can also be used for specific aims such as Van Dijk’s (2008) interest in “the discursive reproduction of power abuse and social inequality” (p. 1). Van Dijk focuses on unmasking how underlying ideologies of power structures insidiously operate in discourse, communication, and language usage in society to legitimize discrimination and inequalities

related to language, gender, race, class, ethnicity, religion, age, and sexual orientation, among others. Further, CDA is concerned with exposing those who abuse power for their own interests. Its purpose is to reveal the strategies of the hegemonic discourses that assist those in power to manipulate and reproduce meanings and understandings that allow them to exercise control over the minds of the marginalized groups and secure preferential access to resources. For example, politicians exercise control over various government discourses and have preferential access to mass media that sustain their powerful domination and the interests of powerful supporters.

For this dissertation, I draw on these different uses of CDA. However, as an overall strategy or methodology, I employ a version of critical discourse analysis that is “a synthesis of theoretical perspectives, categories and methods from different academic disciplines” (Fairclough, 2006, p. 10). An interdisciplinary approach to research is “a process of bringing different disciplines and theories to bear together on a research topic, setting up a dialogue between them through which each is liable to change” (p. 10). This version of CDA attends to analysis at a micro (local) level, but its central concern is the study of social phenomena (Wodak & Meyer, 2009, p. 2). In this way, discourse analysis of the interviews of high school teachers as well as the curriculum itself will be minimal in terms of linguistic analysis. The focus is on interpretation, argumentation, explanation, and formation of themes that will be supported by the literature review. Therefore, I do not commit myself to one specific approach to CDA as I find this method restrictive; rather, I attend to the main core features that are constitutive in every approach to CDA: power, ideology, and ideology critique through discourse (Reisigl & Wodak, 2009, p. 87). The interpretations of these features are selective to suit the purpose of this research. It follows that analysis of data, findings, and reflection on the findings are guided by this version of critical discourse analysis, its aspects and related issues, as presented here. Now, I elaborate the core features of CDA. I introduce the concept of discourse and then the notions of power, ideology, and ideology critique.

Definition of discourse/s. It is useful from the outset to define how I use the concept of discourse because it is the thread that runs throughout the whole dissertation and tightly weaves all its parts together, underlying the literature review, the methodology, and the data collection, and analysis. Fairclough (2006) explains that, in general, discourse can be used in two different ways: discourse as a singular and an abstract noun means semiotic. Discourse/s as a plural noun refers to “particular ways of representing aspects of the world” (p. 10). In this dissertation,

though I use both meanings of discourse as they intersect and overlap in many ways, I mainly focus on the use of discourse/s to mean “*socially constructed ways of knowing some aspect of reality* which can be drawn upon when that aspect of reality has to be represented” (Van Leeuwen, 2009, p. 144). The use of discourses in the plural means that there are different discourses of the same element of reality, with each discourse presenting different knowledge about how things are done in favor of particular interests. Each discourse includes and excludes whatever serves its purposes. These discourses can lead to social action and transform reality (Van Leeuwen, 2009). Examples of discourses that are relevant to this research and discussed in Chapter Four and Five include blaming-the-victim, the neoliberal promise of a rising economic tide for all, the neoconservative positions around tradition, equal opportunity, and the monolithic Other.

It follows that discourse generates representations of some kind of reality through genres that are ways of communication via a number of sources. Fairclough (2006) classifies these sources into five major agencies: 1) scholarly analysis that is theoretical and analytical in orientation; 2) governmental agencies; 3) non-governmental agencies; 4) the media; and 5) ordinary people (p. 5). In discourse, these sources do not act in isolation. According to Fairclough, they draw from each other, influence each other’s discourse, and appropriate particular representations.

In relation to this use of discourse, it is important to note that discourse does not simply mean text; a single text is not sufficient to provide all the characteristics of a social practice (Van Leeuwen, 2009, p. 145). Van Leeuwen points out that the structure of a text, being rhetorical, narrative, or argumentative may be different from the underlying discourse of a practice in an attempt to justify its legitimacy and purposes, be it religious, moral, or social. An example that illustrates Van Leeuwen’s view is the Canadian Multiculturalism Act (1988). Is this single text indicative of all the characteristics of public education in Canada as a social practice that claims to foster multicultural teaching and learning? Further, Jäger and Maier (2009) state that “a single text has minimal effects” in terms of exercising power (p. 38). The power of discourse lies in its potential to create, reinforce, and sustain “knowledge” due to its recursive nature in terms of symbols, strategies, and contents (p. 38). In this view, knowledge encompasses all elements of human consciousness such as emotions and cognition. The power of discourse to construct reality and influence its related social practices depends on its relationship with other discourses.

These discourses work together to form “powerful discursive formations” on which a particular ideology sets (Orlowski, 2011, p. 40). These discourses are historical and therefore subject to change. When they change, according to Orlowski, they necessitate a transformation in ideology to reflect changes in social and material conditions.

Several core features of discourse are relevant for the analysis of the complexity of the topic under investigation, which is the relation between the social studies curriculum and cosmopolitanism. In particular, I attend to macro-topic relatedness (in my case cosmopolitanism), pluri-perspectivity, argumentativity, intertextuality, recontextualization, and interdiscursivity (Reisigl & Wodak, 2009, p. 89). Regarding *pluri-perspectivity* and *argumentativity*, discourse is related to “argumentation about validity claims such as truth and normative validity involving several social actors who have different points of view” (p. 89). *Intertextuality* refers to the relationship between different texts. It indicates whether texts are related in terms of topic, events, arguments, actors, and how they are historically linked to present and past (p. 89). *Recontextualization* occurs when particular elements of a text are taken out of their original contexts (de-contextualized) and transferred into new ones. Consequently, the process of recontextualization gives the transferred elements a new meaning. For example, journalists recontextualize political speeches when they selectively use quotes from the speech to suit their purposes. *Interdiscursivity* indicates that discourses can be connected to each other in many ways (p. 90). To provide an example pertinent to this dissertation, cosmopolitanism is related to other topics and sub-topics including multiculturalism, global citizenship, global ethics, and universalism. These elements of discourse highlight its fluidity. In other words, a discourse can “spread” to other fields of social reality, and connect or overlap with different discourses (p. 90). Attending to these elements of discourse in this dissertation will contribute to the classification of emerging themes based on the relations between discourses in terms of intertextuality, recontextualization, and interdiscursivity.

Definition of power, ideology, and ideology critique. As a critical theory, CDA is interested not only in interpreting and understanding society, but also transforming it by raising awareness for emancipation. CDA seeks to “root out a particular kind of elusion” (Wodak & Meyer, 2009, p. 7). Power is understood in terms of control exercised by the dominant group over marginalized ones. Control can be applied to communicative actions or discourse as well as to the minds of the dominated groups. Discourse control restrains people from freely expressing

their views and forces them to adopt the language of the mass media, the police, or powerful organizations. For example, mind control through media shapes the way we understand our prior experiences, values, attitudes, and the like as a result of manipulation, persuasion, indoctrination, lies, ideological and racist representations, and education. Power also shapes public discourse, and controls access to political and private discourse. This entrenches hegemony and its reproduction of ideological assumptions (Van Dijk, 2008). Consequently, this exercise of power is successful because of its hegemonic function in maintaining the status quo and social hierarchies. Therefore, it is important to elaborate on the relation between power, hegemony, and ideology.

Gramsci's (1971) notion of hegemony means that the dominant class popularizes particular social practices, symbols, and representations as the norms or common sense in a way that receives the consensus of the subordinate class while at the same time hides asymmetrical relations of power that underpin the authority of the dominant culture (McLaren, 2009; Apple, 2004; Orlowski, 2011). Hegemony works best by distributing support for ideological beliefs and social practices throughout all of the institutions in society including political organizations, churches, schools, businesses, and other aspects of everyday life (Lull, 2003; Apple, 2004). In most cases, these institutions work together to reinforce ideological domination. Correspondingly, "hegemony requires that ideological assertions become self-evident cultural assumptions" (Lull, 2003, p. 63). In terms of schooling, hegemony operates by constructing a curriculum anchored in "consensus ideology that bears little resemblance to the complex nexus and contradictions surrounding the control and organization of social life" (Apple, 2004, p. 6). On the other hand, this exercise of power has the potential to turn into a form of discursive resistance (Van Dijk, 2008) and generate counter-hegemonic discourses that challenge and destabilize dominant discourses (Orlowski, 2011). Here, ideology critique plays a significant role. Ideology critique entails the interpretation of texts by decontextualizing the hidden assumptions embedded in dominant discourses. Orlowski explains that ideology critique involves the critical analysis of the relations between discourse, power, and ideology.

Likewise, ideology is understood here as "*a coherent and relatively stable set of beliefs and values*" that has acquired negative connotations over time (Wodak & Meyer, 2009, p. 8, emphasis in original). Drawing on critical theory of the Frankfurt School, Brookfield (2014) states that in the work of Marx and Engels, power and ideology operate symbiotically. In other

words, the ruling class is able to stay in power and avoids potential challenges to its position by disseminating a dominant ideology that prescribes ways of life, practices, and beliefs and by interpreting what is a common sense in everyday life. Yet, interconnection between power and ideology is based on luring the majority that the dominant ideology serves the interests of the society as a whole. Capitalist discourses were the original forms that critical theory attempted to deconstruct. Critical theory views the goals of capitalism as not limited to the production and distribution of material goods and services. Rather, it claims that capitalism perpetuates the way people think about their personal relationships and their participation in the workforce. It constantly attempts to commodify human relationships and control people's emotions and feelings for the benefit of organizational goals that serve the interests of the ruling class. Perpetuating a dominant ideology is a means to help those in power maintain their positions without resistance from the people. Foucault refers to a dominant ideology as the exercise of disciplinary power (Brookfield, 2014).

Overall, the concepts of power, ideology, ideology critique, discourse, and hegemony are indicative of the way I use critical discourse analysis in this dissertation. Critical discourse analysis offers the possibility of gaining a deeper understanding of the complexity of the various strands of cosmopolitanism. Critical research analysis as a methodology challenges the researcher to delve deeply in understanding and disentangling the roots of our social fragmentation, exclusion, and discrimination in our interconnected world across times. What is more, it forces the confrontation and the questioning of our long-held beliefs. This understanding is essential in the search for meaning that is constructive towards peaceful negotiations of our fragmented world.

In search for meaning embedded in social, cultural, political, and educational practices at various levels of society, I aim to identify what kind of ideological orientation is expressed in the social studies curriculum. I seek to critically investigate whose interests are present behind the rationales and their related goals as listed in the current curriculum. I investigate what it excludes and what it includes, what it emphasizes and what it ignores. I use the current social studies curriculum in Saskatchewan high schools in conjunction with the participants' perspectives as a discourse that propagates these practices to delineate its compatibility or overlap with other discourses such as nationalism, multiculturalism, and globalization and compare it with the discourse on cosmopolitanism. The aim is to investigate whether a cosmopolitan orientation is

expressed in the curriculum and how to further strengthen the curriculum from a cosmopolitan perspective as highlighted in the review of the literature. With this intention, I use critical discourse analysis to examine the insights presented by the social studies teachers. In other words, I use CDA to connect all data material and guide the analysis. Throughout this process, I draw on the main features of CDA such as “the inter-textuality and recontextualization of competing discourses in various public spaces and genres” (Wodak, 2002, pp. 10-11). In this case, I use CDA to deconstruct how discourses embedded in the formal and enacted social studies curricula in Saskatchewan high schools produce particular meanings and obscure others historically, socially, and politically. Wodak argues that “every discourse is historically produced and interpreted – i.e. is situated in time and place” and the related social practices are maintained, legitimized, and naturalized as “societal conventions” by ideological and powerful structures (p. 12). CDA serves to uncover these structures and provide alternatives for resistance.

Conceptual Framework

The theoretical framework emanates out of the comprehensive review of the literature on cosmopolitanism discussed in Chapter Two. The review of the literature on cosmopolitanism “draw[s] upon the concepts, terms, definitions, models, and theories of particular literature base and disciplinary orientation” (Merriam, 2009, p. 67). The review guides the study as an “underlying structure” of the research in terms of determining the problem of research, selecting the research design, identifying concepts, formulating the research questions, collecting, analyzing and interpreting the data (p. 66). The analytical orientation takes into consideration the entanglement of discourses. Discourses can be “intimately entangled with each other and together form a giant milling mass of overall societal discourse” (Jäger & Maier, 2009, p. 35). The debate about cosmopolitanism discussed in the literature review is exemplary of this entanglement of discourses.

Nussbaum’s (1996/2002) provocative essay on the universality of cosmopolitanism has generated a multitude of responses and discourses about cosmopolitanism in the scholarly literature covering a wide array of perspectives on how people construct reality and make sense of their interconnected relationships. This led to a heated debate on cosmopolitanism and its relation to other discourses including nationalism, patriotism, essentialism, universalism, cultural controversies, democratic citizenship, and rooted cosmopolitanism, among others, with each

discourse attempting to assert its validity and claims to truth in representing social reality.

Other concepts that bear upon the analysis of the data due to their intersections with concepts raised in the review of the literature and with the tenets of critical discourse analysis include power, ideology, and ideology critique. These concepts lead to others that are useful for this research: Mills' (1997) concept of Racial Contract that posits the political system of society and the government are constructed and normalized based on White supremacy; Said's (1978/2003) notion of "Orientalism" that implies that the West is a "corporate institution" with a legitimate mandate for "dominating, restructuring, and having authority over the Orient"; and McIntyre's (1997) notion of "White talk" that is indicative of White racism.

It is important to note that in conjunction with CDA, the theoretical framework operates as an instrument and a method of analysis, an approach used by CDA researchers: "In particular, the emphasis is on *mediation* between 'grand theories' as applied to larger society, and concrete instances of social interaction which result in texts" (Wodak & Meyer, 2009, p. 23, emphasis in original). Social studies teachers have the potential to act as mediators between the formal curriculum and the socially constructed world of their students. Their perspectives are an important contribution to this research project as they reflect how these teachers interpret the curriculum and its potential to shape the students' interconnected relationships in a diverse world. Further, their experiences in the classroom shed light on prevalent discourses, assumptions, and beliefs circulating in the community.

Participants

Purposeful sampling was used to select participants who can provide targeted and rich information about the topic of this study (McMillan, 2004/2008). Purposeful sampling consists of selecting key informants who help the researcher gain insights into the case study (Yin, 2014, p. 111). To recruit participants, the President of the Social Studies Saskatchewan Council of Saskatchewan (SSS) granted me approval via email to post a letter of invitation on its Facebook page (See Appendix A). Although I received more than 40 hits on the advertisement, no one contacted me for an interview. Consequently, five participants were recruited via snowballing. Forthwith, participants were assigned pseudonyms to protect their anonymity and confidentiality. The following are the demographic characteristics of the participants.

I recruited one woman and four men. The participants were five teachers who have taught or are currently teaching the social studies curriculum of grades 9 to 12 in Saskatchewan high schools. They were expected to provide enough information to address the research questions. Identified as “key informants they have inside knowledge which is critical to the case and these individuals can enhance the validity of the conclusions drawn” (Anderson & Arsenault, 1998, p. 156). As Booi (2001) states, “public education is the vital vehicle for developing citizens of a democratic society and that social studies teachers have the main role to play in this regard” (as cited in Clark & Case, 2008, p. 25). They are one source of evidence that is used to corroborate with other sources or as the basis for inquiry into contrary evidence (Yin, 2014, p. 111). Their pseudonyms are Annie, Sheldon, James, Albert, and Chris. For reasons of confidentiality, I cannot reveal their backgrounds as they can be easily identified in Saskatchewan. Annie and Albert are not teaching social studies anymore. Annie taught Social Studies 9 integrated with English four times in an urban area. Albert taught Social Studies 9 only one time in a rural area. James has been teaching almost everything in K-12 for 20 years. Now, he is teaching Social Studies 8 to 9, History 10, and History 30, among other subjects in a rural area in Saskatchewan. Sheldon has been teaching Social Studies 9 and History 10 to 12 for six years in an urban area in Saskatchewan. He blends Social Studies 10 to 12 with history. Chris has been teaching Social Studies 9 and History 10 to 12, among other subjects for seven years. The following table illustrates basic information about the participants.

Credibility of this small sample is not measured in terms of consistency with the curriculum itself but in comparison of their respective responses. The representation of this sample cannot be generalized regionally or nationally. However, I received enough data from them to draw solid conclusions and recommendations.

Participants' Information

Interviewees' Pseudonyms	Total Years of Teaching	SS Grades Taught	Where (Rural/Urban)
Annie	4 Years	SS 9 Infused with English	Urban

Sheldon	6 Years	SS 9 & SS 10 to 12 Infused with history	Urban
Chris	7 Years	SS 9	Urban
James	20 Years	SS 8-9 & SS 10 to 12 Infused with History 10 and 30	Rural
Albert	1 Year	SS 9	Rural

Data Collection

Data collection consists of two parts: first, the semi-structured individual interviews with social studies teachers in Saskatchewan high schools; and second, Saskatchewan's social studies curriculum in high schools. Face-to-face or by-phone interviews each of approximately 90 minutes in duration were conducted with each of the participants. The interviews were tape-recorded and transcribed by me. The transcribed data were given to the participants for validation. The 13 interview questions were open-ended "so that participants can best voice their experiences unconstrained by any perspectives of the researcher or past research findings" (Creswell, 2012, p. 218). They were aimed to elicit the teachers' own interpretations of the formal curriculum as compared to what the curriculum is intended to accomplish and to guide analysis of the curriculum in consideration of the review of the literature on cosmopolitanism in Chapter Two (See Appendix C).

I also used "clarifying and elaborating probes" to obtain more information (Creswell, 2012, p. 221). Data collection through interviews "is a powerful way to gain insight into educational and other important social issues through understanding the experience of the individuals whose lives reflect those issues" (Seidman, 2006, p. 14). Here the engagement of the teachers with the official and enacted curriculum, their perceptions of its impact on the lives of their students, and its effectiveness and limitations to accomplish what it intends to accomplish were expected to be

powerful insights that can provide answers to the research questions. Cornbleth (1990) states that the enacted curriculum integrates the life experiences, passions, and interests of teachers and students and the social contexts in which they take place (as cited in Orlowski, 2011, p. 57).

Further, as Freire (1998) states, effective teaching is not neutral, a matter of transferring knowledge. Freire contends that “to know how to teach is to create possibilities for the construction and production of knowledge” (p. 49). Accordingly, I approached the interviews assuming that teaching of social studies involves subjectivity and consciousness on the part of the teachers through their interactions with the curriculum and a diverse cohort of students. Because my interests as a researcher include Schutz’s (1967) notion of “subjective understanding” of these experiences (as cited in Seidman, 2006, p. 11), Seidman suggests that interviews “may be the best avenue of inquiry” (p. 11).

The second source of data collection is the formal social studies curriculum of grades 9 to 12 in Saskatchewan high schools. The curriculum is available on the website of Saskatchewan Ministry of Education under the title *The Curriculum: Education: The Future Within Us* (Saskatchewan Curriculum, n.d.). It is listed as follows: grade 9 (2009), grade 10 (Social Studies 10: Social Organizations, September 1992), grade 11 (Social Studies 20: World Issues, September 1994), and grade 12 (Social Studies 30: Canadian Studies, June 1997). As it is beyond the scope of this study to analyze every lesson in detail of this curriculum, I focused on its general structure, orientation, and particular lessons that helped to address the research questions.

It is important to note that data collection is not a process that has a beginning and an end before data analysis starts. New questions may arise necessitating further collection of data or re-examination of previously collected ones (Strauss, 1987; Strauss & Corbin, 1990, as cited in Wodak & Meyer, 2013, p. 27). In addition, though I have used two main sources of data collection to establish confirmatory evidence (Yin, 2014), it is also important to note, as Merriam (2009) observes, that in any qualitative research, the researcher remains “*the primary instrument for data collection and analysis*” (p. 15, emphasis in original). This human instrument affects the outcome of the study as it can be influenced by biases and “subjectivities” (p. 15). Merriam argues that researchers need to acknowledge and monitor these weaknesses in qualitative research rather than attempting to remove them.

Data Analysis Procedures

Data analysis takes place simultaneously while collecting data (Creswell, 2012). For example, I took notes while interviewing the participants and related them to insights from the literature review or particular descriptions of the social studies curriculum. I transcribed the audiotapes of each interview before starting the next interview. This enabled me to engage in a focused reflection on each interview before conducting the next one. Then, I presented the transcripts to the participants for their verification. The participants were required to sign the transcript release form after reviewing it and send it back to me (See Appendix D). The description of my analysis and interpretation of data are based upon Creswell's suggestions: my initial exploration of the data consists of coding the transcriptions. Here I followed an inductive approach. In other words, I assigned particular code labels to text segments, which later turned into major themes. I examined the codes for inconsistencies, redundancy, contradictions, commonalities, underlying meaning, bias, perspectives, assumptions, political statements, evidence of potential themes, or insights related to the literature, and so forth. This process was also iterative; meaning, I repeated rounds of analysis by going back and forth between data analysis and data collection to yield sound results, as Creswell suggests. I then attempted to reduce these codes into themes relevant to the research questions. As I expected, the themes were interconnected. This verification has contributed to additional rigor to my research (Creswell, 2012). As Merriam (2009) asserts, the novice researcher cannot determine how "data analysis 'works' in qualitative research" until the researcher works with her own data and attempts to answer her own research question (p. 175).

In the section above on CDA, I explained the parameters of the use of CDA in this dissertation and how I use it for data analysis. It is useful here to briefly reiterate that I focused at the macro level of analysis by attending to the intertextuality, recontextualization, interdiscursivity, along with interpretation and argumentation to generate themes that address the research questions. I sought layering and interrelating the themes generated from the interviews and the analysis of the curriculum in consideration of the literature review to add rigor into the study (Creswell, 2012). The specific purpose of the data analysis is framed by the theoretical framework of this study: I employ the concept of cosmopolitanism as discussed in the review of the literature in Chapter Two to guide the analysis of the formal and enacted.

Triangulation, Validity, and Reflexivity

“Researchers do not enter the interview session theory free” (Seidman, 2006, as cited in Sfeir, 2015, p. 82). They have already done sufficient reading about their subject of inquiry, formulated theories about teaching and learning, human behavior, and ways society should operate. Before conducting the interviews, I had already accumulated a significant amount of knowledge about the concept of cosmopolitanism, its challenges and limitations. Therefore, in order to reduce biases, I included interviews as an instrument of data collection rather than just theoretically evaluating the content of the social studies curriculum. Further, I attempted to approach each interview with a desire in “understanding the phenomenon of interest [social studies curriculum] from the participants’ perspectives, not the researcher’s” (Merriam, 2009, p. 14).

In addition, in my analysis of the data, I took into consideration Van Dijk’s (2009) view on how to assess the findings of critical discourse analysis. Van Dijk points out that research using CDA assumes an “*ethical* assessment” of its claims based on recognized international human rights principles (p. 63). Therefore, he cautions CDA researchers that what is considered international rights and norms may be representative of Western norms and rights. Van Dijk highlights three properties of a scholarly critical analysis of discourse. First, analysis of social problems facilitates an understanding of them and their reproduction of social injustices and provides solutions to them. Second, international human rights operate as a normative approach for a critical assessment of injustices and as “guidelines for practical intervention and resistance against illegitimate domination” (p. 64). Third, the analysis considers the knowledge, concerns, and resistance of those who are affected by “discursive injustice and its consequences” (p. 64).

To further ensure trustworthiness of the analysis, I drew on a number of verification procedures in qualitative methods to maximize the quality of the research design. These include case study tactics to establish construct validity (Yin, 2014, p. 45) and reflexivity (Merriam 2009, p. 219). Construct validity of the findings involves triangulation and forming a chain of evidence (Yin, 2014, p. 45). “Triangulation is the process of corroborating evidence” from multiple sources (Creswell, 2012, p. 259) to add credibility to the research findings because truth is never reached objectively in qualitative research (Merriam, 2009). In essence, the research draws on applying critical discourse analysis to three types of data: the current social studies formal curriculum in Saskatchewan high schools, the data collected from the interviews, and the

review of the literature that incorporates a large amount of scholarly work including theoretical, practical, ethnographic, philosophical, political, and cultural studies. Data were collected from five teachers of the social studies curriculum as part of constructing a chain of evidence to enhance validity. I was not able to recruit a diverse population with different ethnic backgrounds. As I mentioned, an advertisement was placed twice on the SSS website and no one contacted me. Seidman (2006) notes that validity can be enhanced when interviewing several individuals because “we can connect their experiences and check the comments of one participants against those of others” (p. 24) particularly because the case study is bounded, as explained above. My research validity is based on these five participants. However, although this way of checking the teachers’ experiences enhances validity, it is important to acknowledge that “there is no solid, unmovable platform upon which to base our understanding of human affairs,” as Seidman argues (p. 26).

It is also difficult to assess validity of the findings because reality in qualitative studies “is holistic, multidimensional, and ever-changing” (Merriam, 2009, p. 213). For this reason, I invoke Merriam’s (2009, p. 211) citation of Wolcott’s (1994) interesting perspective on the “absurdity of validity.” Merriam explains that rather than pursuing validity, Wolcott is after “something else, a quality that points more to identifying critical elements and wringing plausible interpretations from them, something one can pursue without becoming obsessed with finding the right or ultimate answer, the correct version, the Truth” (Merriam, 2009, pp. 211-212). This observation highlights the relevance of the theoretical framework underlying the analysis of the research. I do not claim that I seek to discover an enduring truth or solutions to all the ills of society. Rather, I attempt to contribute to further debate on issues related to the social studies curriculum such as multicultural education, cosmopolitan education, and global citizenship.

Using multiple sources of evidence provides the researcher with a significant advantage in interpreting the data because it allows “the development of *converging lines of inquiry*” (Yin, 2014, p. 120, emphasis in original). Consequently, the outcomes of the research are more accurate and persuasive. For synthesizing and analyzing the data, I cycled back and forth between the literature, the curriculum, the interviews, and the analysis of the data in an attempt to support the findings from multiple sources by identifying converging lines of inquiry and exploring rival alternatives (Yin, 2014). I also attempted to “strike a delicate balance between the

sometimes competing claims of the relevant literature and the experience of the interview participants” (Seidman, 2006, p. 38). In this way, I strove to understand and account for the multiple perspectives and experiences of these teachers in constructing reality and making meaning of their experiences to “uncover the complexity of human behaviour in a contextual framework” and presented a holistic analysis and interpretation of their experiences (Merriam, 2009, p. 215).

Another form of verification procedure in qualitative studies is reflexivity (Merriam, 2009). Throughout the research process, I attempted to clarify my assumptions, beliefs, and values and acknowledged my biases in order to deal with them. I spaced the interviews apart as much as possible based on the availability of the participants to allow myself to transcribe the data collected, perform initial coding, and reflect on it. After each interview, I wrote notes to myself about the participants’ responses and the thoughts they spurred in me whether these thoughts were biased assumptions related to the central phenomenon of the research or to subjectivity. In terms of objectivity, I concur with Wodak and Meyer (2013) that “rigorous ‘objectivity’ cannot be reached by means of discourse analysis, for each ‘technology’ of research must itself be examined as potentially embedding the beliefs and ideologies of the analysts and therefore guiding the analysis towards the analysts’ preconceptions” (pp. 31-32). In sum, I strove to establish trustworthiness throughout this research process hoping to present a convincing and accurate perspective on cosmopolitan education and the social studies curriculum in Saskatchewan high schools.

Interdisciplinarity

In terms of disciplines, cosmopolitanism brings together theoretical and practical perspectives from different disciplines relevant to our globalized world. Within education, it tackles the complex question of its aims and purposes, particularly in social studies. In the field of psychology, it focuses on human behaviors and the limits of bonds and affiliations towards others. Regarding politics and political science, it intersects with the discourses around nationalism, liberalism, and world citizenship. It is also concerned with issues of social justice and human rights. The study involves economics because it highlights the need for equality in the distribution of resources and opportunities. Ethically, it asserts the need to cultivate ethical thinking and practices at all levels of society. It attempts to “transcend the particular cultural

traditions of those thinkers and policy-makers and appeal to norms inherent in humanity itself” (Van Hooft, 2009, p. 2). From a sociological and anthropological perspective, it addresses the complexity of identity formation and the various impacts of intercultural encounters and exchange on individuals and groups.

Interdisciplinarity is also evident in the literature review. Insights on cosmopolitanism are interwoven, compared, contrasted, or reconciled with many concepts including critical theory, multiculturalism, pluralism, cultural diversity, universalism, globalization, internationalism, and ethics. The interdisciplinarity of cosmopolitanism justifies its relation to social studies education, itself an interdisciplinary subject, and its purposes as described in the review of the literature.

The interdisciplinarity featured in this study is significant because, as Sumner (2003) maintains, it allows for a critique of these different disciplines and the possibility of synthesis, reflexivity, and triangulation. Therefore, it facilitates the researcher’s attempt to “make truly original and useful contributions to knowledge” (p. 3). However, referring to Kroker’s (1980) notion of “vacant interdisciplinarity,” Sumner warns that disciplinary research may end up strengthening the status quo (p. 3). Therefore, she emphasizes the use of critical theory to tackle this weakness in interdisciplinary research. It follows, according to Sumner, that a criticality in interdisciplinary research enables the researcher to tackle complex societal issues, “resulting in interdisciplinary relationships of suspicion that question the status quo and open up the road to change” (p. 7). As cosmopolitanism is interdisciplinary by nature, a significant feature of this dissertation is its interdisciplinarity.

CHAPTER IV: Analysis of the Social Studies Curriculum in Saskatchewan High Schools

Textbooks are central to socializing particular identities because they define legitimate knowledge and desirable social attributes, and also communicate privileged concepts of national or global citizenship. In this way, they can exacerbate national and sub-national ethnic and cultural conflicts, or help to support the development of cosmopolitan identities.
(Bromley, 2009, p. 33)

Chapter Four is an analysis of the formal social studies curriculum for grades 9 to 12 in Saskatchewan high schools. The curriculum is currently available on the website of the Saskatchewan Ministry of Education under the title *Saskatchewan Curriculum: Education: The Future Within Us* (Saskatchewan Curriculum, n. d.). The current version on this website consists of the following: Grade 9 (Social Studies 9, 2009: The Roots of Society), Grade 10 (Social Studies 10: Social Organizations, September 1992), Grade 11 (Social Studies 20: World Issues, September 1994), and Grade 12 (Social Studies 30: Canadian Studies, June 1997). As indicated with the corresponding years of publication, only the grade 9 social studies curriculum has been newly revised. Further, in most Saskatchewan high schools, social studies is taught in grade 9 as a standing subject by itself, but streamed in history or English classes in the subsequent grades depending on the teacher's decision to do so. Some of the interviewed teachers indicated that they do not strictly follow the formal social studies curriculum, but they supplement it and blend it in their history or English classes in grades 10 to 12. This chapter reviews the formal curriculum as posted on the Saskatchewan Ministry of Education website. Chapter Five analyzes the *enacted* curriculum as delivered by five social studies teachers in Saskatchewan high schools.

Several scholars have critiqued the social studies curriculum in general in North America. It is important to elaborate some of these critiques as they shed light on the discourses used in the social studies curriculum across Canadian provinces. This enabled me to conduct a comparative analysis between these discourses and cosmopolitanism.

The purpose of social studies is to foster ideal citizenship. Thus, the rationale that underlines a particular citizenship education is informed, "consciously or not, by our image of the type of person and world we hope to promote" (Clark & Case, 2008, p. 25). Following the same line of reasoning, a cosmopolitan agenda for social studies curriculum aims to implement a

harmonious society where every individual is an active and engaged citizen of the world. This citizen is open-minded to other cultures and free from parochial constraints, respects human rights, and is actively engaged to promote global justice and global equality. In Chapter Two, I have discussed the various conceptions of cosmopolitanism and their implications for education. This concept has newly resurged and it is expected that it does not rigidly fit within the framework of the social studies curricula in Saskatchewan high schools. Its core tenets, however, such as concern for human rights, global justice, respect for all forms of difference, and care for the oppressed and marginalized are issues that have been part of many curricula nationally and globally when the curricula take a social justice approach. The social justice discourse is not new to Canada, but it has been significantly diminished in policy and educational documents (Joshee, 2007).

Following this line of reasoning, a neoliberal agenda for a social studies curriculum focuses on promoting a society that values the market and its constituents such as productivity, competition, modernization of economic institutions, minimal government regulation in favor of a dominant political elite, and character building based on the entrepreneurial mindset (Apple, 2006, Orlowski, 2011). The neoconservative discourse favors standardization, traditional authority, values and knowledge of the past, which they seek to reestablish (Apple, 2006). Neoconservatism favors the picture of the tolerant Canadian who is open to Others as history of Canada shows since the first encounters between First Nations people and European settlers. In this view, past and current conflicts are caused by the inability of the Other to be accepting, tolerant, and open (Joshee, 2009, p. 99). Neoconservatism emphasizes hierarchical social order where everyone knows his place in society, which explains recent attacks on multiculturalism and feminism (Orlowski, 2011).

Apple (2006) points out that the forces of neoliberalism form hegemonic alliances with other forces including neoconservatism. These forces are expanding across regions, institutions, and national systems and undermining the social democracy efforts to sustain equal opportunity. Both neoliberal and neoconservative discourses perpetuate the *we-they* dichotomy when “we” refers to the “law-abiding, hardworking, decent, and virtuous” members of dominant groups and “they” refers to the “lazy, immoral, and permissive” usually immigrants, Indigenous peoples, the poor and other historically oppressed groups who are different from we, the “real citizens” (p. 22). *They* (not *we*) are costing the government money to provide them with supportive policies

and *they* are receiving benefits without return (p. 23). Consequently, the educational goal of these discourses is not to foster social altruism, but to undermine collective interests. Not to mention, they encourage possessive individualism, promote economic rationality, naturalize the winner-loser duality in social systems, and make people believe that the good society will ultimately emerge from the neoliberal and neoconservative forces (Apple, 2006). This reminds me of the commonly used neoliberal aphorism “a rising tide lifts all boats” that justifies the economic benefits of the elites in a capitalist society under the assumption that free markets have great potential in abolishing poverty (Harvey, 2005, p. 64).

Unfortunately, these neoliberal and neoconservative ideologies are historically entrenched in the Canadian education system up to our present time. The social justice discourse has been recently “devalued, if not vilified,” but efforts remain to keep this work on social justice going (Joshee, 2007, p. 171). Joshee’s argument is based on her study of over 150 documents in relation to diversity at both the provincial and federal levels of government in Canada. For a more cohesive account, this is an amalgamation of her arguments from two of her studies (2007, 2009). The author observes that even the Council of Ministers of Education for Canada (CMEC) emphasizes an education that meets the demands of the economic aspects of globalization. When the language of diversity, gender equity, equity, inclusion and achievement of marginalized students is used, it is interwoven with discourses of neoliberalism and neoconservatism while the liberal social justice discourse is assigned minor importance. Joshee argues that multiculturalism and the benefits of immigration and diversity are considered valuable for two reasons anchored in the ideological approach of the Harper Conservative government: first, multiculturalism is beneficial as long as it contributes to economic prosperity, for instance, in cultural exchanges with the US, China, or Brazil’s markets. Second, multiculturalism is beneficial for social cohesion when immigrants contribute to dismantle any external security threat to Canada. The social cohesion discourse in these documents sees diversity as a threat causing the proliferation of racial profiling. Social cohesion discourse treats racism as an individual character rather than systemic in the operation of institutions. However, Joshee points out that the social justice discourse is not completely eradicated, but still operates in various policies such as the boards of education in the Greater Toronto Area and through the work of agencies such as Ontario Human Rights Commission.

The analysis of the formal social studies curriculum in Saskatchewan high schools examines the rationales and their relevant goals listed for each grade. These rationales, as Case and Abbott (2008) argue, “inform and give purpose to our teaching of the specific outcomes” associated with each grade (p. 23). As demonstrated below, this analysis reveals how hegemony works in a subtly racist and hidden curriculum immersed in capitalist and elitist mindsets and neoconservative ideology that are evident in its wording, content, and structure. It follows that there is a significant gap between the grades 10 to 11 social studies curriculum and cosmopolitanism in orientation, spirit, and outreach. Although the curriculum was published in the 1990s and due for revision, it remains crucial to analyze for the following reasons: first, while today we expect a significant shift in our educational philosophy towards commitment to inclusion, empathy, global justice and equality, and respect for human rights, the newly revised grade 9 social studies curriculum in Saskatchewan high schools that was published in 2009 still includes several features of neoliberal, neoconservative, and other discriminatory concepts laid out in a more sophisticated, exclusionary, and hidden hegemonic format. I will elaborate on this claim below under the section entitled *Analysis of the Revised Grade 9 Social Studies (2009)*. Second, even recent federal government documents are still guided by neoconservative ideology. Comparatively, rather than endorsing new philosophies of education that are inclusive, the newly revised Canadian citizenship education document entitled *Discover Canada: The Rights and Responsibilities of Citizenship* (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 2012) designed by the former federal government to prepare adult immigrants for citizenship test exhibits “a shift towards neoconservatism” (Pashby, Ingram, & Joshee, 2014, p. 2). It “recovers the imperial roots of Canadian citizenship ideals while covering up the strong history of equity, diversity, and civic action” (p. 2).

In addition, other current social studies curricula across Canadian provinces and worldwide exhibit similar ideological orientations. For instance, Pashby et al. (2014) draw on Joshee’s (2009) study that outlines neoliberalism, neoconservatism, and liberal conceptions of social justice as three ideologies characterizing contemporary educational policies and practices regarding citizenship and diversity. The authors have revised the approach to citizenship education in Alberta and Ontario’s education policy documents and school curricula published up to 2012. They conclude that there are traces of a neoconservative agenda in federal documents, neoliberal features in provincial ones, while the liberal social justice discourse is

minimal. These discourses are starkly contradictory to the discourse on moral and cultural cosmopolitanism discussed in Chapter Two. Unfortunately, the analysis of the social studies curriculum in Saskatchewan high schools echoes and reasserts the validity of several arguments from the studies conducted by Joshee (2007, 2009) and Pashby et al. (2014), among others. It follows that the social studies curriculum in Saskatchewan high school is outdated in presentation, but not in the underlying ideologies.

On the other hand, some provinces have devised social studies curricula or educational guidelines geared towards social justice that can be a useful reference to curriculum developers in Saskatchewan. These are British Columbia's Civic Studies 11: Integrated Resource Package 2005 (British Columbia Government, 2005), British Columbia's Social Justice 12: Integrated Resources Package 2008 (British Columbia Government, 2008), and Teaching Human Rights in Ontario: A Guide for Ontario Schools (Ontario Human Rights Commission, 2013). This does not mean that these documents are the only educational documents in Canada that take a social justice approach. I assume that there are other examples available. One caveat is to be noted here. I did not explore these documents in depth for their strengths or weaknesses; therefore, it is only a general observation. In general, British Columbia's Civic Studies 11 invites students to explore hegemonic discourses and construct "counter-hegemonic ones" as a way of cultivating their political consciousness (Orlowski, 2008, p. 121). The guide for teaching human rights in Ontario primarily focuses on individual rights violations; therefore, it is limited in its approach to human rights.

I hope that this analysis here is useful to curriculum developers, policy makers, school administrators, and prospective social studies teachers across provinces, and particularly to those who will participate in revising grades 10 to 12 social studies in Saskatchewan. First, I analyze the outdated grades 10 to 11 curriculum. Second, I analyze the revised grade 9 social studies curriculum published in 2009 before I move on to analyze the grade 12 social studies curriculum published in 1997. The reason behind this format is that I find that the revised Social Studies 9 falls short of exemplifying an educational philosophy that is built on recognitions of injustices, inclusion, concern for global and social justice, and equality, despite its significant shift in orientation, wording, and content from the outdated grades 10 to 11 curriculum, as already noted. Finally, the analysis of grade 12 social studies curriculum in Saskatchewan high schools exhibits some intersections with a cosmopolitan education that aims to promote inclusivity, social and

global justice, equality across boundaries, and human rights, to a certain extent, more than all the other curricula discussed here.

As it is beyond the scope of this study to analyze every lesson of this curriculum in detail, I focus on its general structure, orientation in particular units that help address the research questions. My analysis does not include the supporting materials. It is based solely on the formal curriculum itself. I use critical discourse analysis as a tool to uncover ideological representations in the social studies 9 to 12 curriculum. Therefore, I resort to quoting a number of statements from the curriculum because the power of the implicit message in the wording of these statements or the way they are structured in relation to other ones may be lost or downplayed in paraphrasing.

Analysis of the Grades 10 to 11 Social Studies Curriculum

Saskatchewan's social studies curricula of grade 10 (1992) and grade 11 (1994) are outdated and require revision. It remains important to analyze them, however, because the underlying ideologies are not shifting in new educational documents; they are simply more subtly stated, as I already noted. It is important to mention that there are intersections and overlaps between these themes. (Note that I changed the numbering of excerpts from the curriculum to comply with APA style).

Disempowerment of Students

The disempowering feature of the social studies is reinforced in the way it narrates the economic, political, and military history of Canada and the world “as story with all the authority of narrative” implying that “this is the way things happened, but also that they could have happened in no other way” (Osborne, 2008, p. 5). The nation is built by “exceptional individuals” and the agency of ordinary people such as workers, women, and Aboriginal peoples in building the nation is disregarded (Osborne, 2008, p. 4). In other words, the curriculum does not reflect social history (Zinn, 1980). Injustices are represented as the product of major historical events and justified in celebratory and authoritarian narratives of economic and political orthodoxy based on neoliberalism and elitism presented as essential for nation-competitiveness in the world (Osborne, 2008). For instance, in Grade 10, Unit 2, the section entitled “Economic Development Among Indian Peoples in Saskatchewan” treats the collapse of the agricultural system of Aboriginal peoples as a product of a historical “economic change”

whereby “the arrival of Europeans brought irreversible changes to Aboriginal economies, and that some of these changes were contrary to the traditional Aboriginal world view” (Saskatchewan Ministry of Education, 1992, p. 226). Consequently, according to Grade 11, Unit 4, “Aboriginal People fall into the trap of being unable to find their cultural identity and being unable to join the modern society thus turning to solutions such as alcohol, etc.” (Saskatchewan Ministry of Education, 1994, p. 424). In this disempowering view, the blame-the-victim discourse that is embedded in the notion of “Indigenous trap” shapes the grades 10 to 11 social studies curriculum (Saskatchewan Ministry of Education, 1994, p. 424). First Nations people are repeatedly depicted in reified representations as unable to cope with the modern advances of the market. It is noteworthy that Saskatchewan’s Indigenous population is expected to increase significantly in the coming years (Green, 2006). In contrast, cosmopolitanism emphasizes the potential of the individual agency to act on injustices in the world (Saito, 2010). Further, Malcomson’s (1998) notion of “actually existing cosmopolitanisms” draws attention to the agency of ordinary people in local encounters (p. 238). The ordinary cosmopolitan practices are strategies to negotiate differences in daily life. While the discourse of blame-the-victim is invoked by the dominant White group to justify racial inequality in terms of cultural deficiency (Henry & Tator, 2006/2010), cosmopolitanism advocates moral equality to all human beings irrespective of dichotomies of difference (Jones, 2010; Van Hooft, 2009). This disempowering of students is also used in the selected narrations or activities that are placed in the context of distant historical time and place, as the next emergent theme explains.

The Social Studies Curriculum in Distant Historical Time and Space

Whereas cosmopolitan education is future oriented (Papastephanou, 2002), the social studies curriculum is placed in distant historical time and space. It presents cultural encounters as “*only synchronic*” as a means to perpetuate misconceptions about the historical relationship between the dominant group with the Other, and “let the bygoners be bygoners” (Papastephanou, 2002, p. 78, emphasis in original). It places events either in Canada’s historical past or the historical past of distant nations including Nigeria and Japan. For example, Grade 10, Unit 2 addresses the economic development of Aboriginal peoples in Saskatchewan “from the late 1880’s [sic] to the 1930’s [sic]” with a broad mention that economic developments are currently occurring in sectors such as tourism, fishing, transportation, and agriculture (p. 230). Then this unit explores Nigeria’s economic development between 1960s and the 1980s. An activity in this

unit asks students to compare and contrast the current “economic conditions in Saskatchewan and Nigeria” (Saskatchewan Ministry of Education, 1992, p. 239). Interestingly, the curriculum omits the history of colonialism in both Nigeria and Saskatchewan.

In this context, the curriculum is not committed to fostering well-informed citizens who can morally and critically engage in decision-making regarding injustices that have persisted today. Although the past and present are the basis of social studies, it is important that the social studies curriculum is “committed to democratic values and their importance for social, and civic decision making” nationally and internationally (McGuire, 2007, p. 621). Students need to learn how past events relate to our present time and how they can make a difference in their world, McGuire states. The way the grades 10 to 11 social studies curriculum is organized around historical events that are distant in time and space is a hegemonic strategy that serves to protect the privileges of the elites (Apple, 2004; Orlowski, 2011). Referring to a distant past masks the persistence of these problems today and suggests there is no need for change (Orlowski, 2011). In reality, a neoconservative strategy is at work as the curriculum suggests that the existence of these past conflicts indicates that “we” were always open and tolerant, but “they” were not (Joshee, 2009, p. 99). In contrast, cosmopolitanism acknowledges past injustices and the related mutual responsibilities and obligations to redress these injustice in order to achieve reconciliation. Accordingly, Papastephanou (2002) asserts that

cosmopolitan education ... is sensitive not only to the future coexistence of different cultures but also to a just settlement of past differences, discrepancies and disputes. Arrows not yet fired are then apologies never made, roles and realities never acknowledged (p. 84).

In this outdated curriculum, the voice of Indigenous peoples is completely silenced, and is an example of “omission as an effective hegemonic strategy” (Orlowski, 2011, p. 3).

Placing poverty in distant locations also masks and downplays the systemic poverty close to home, and lead students to believe that it is not a problem on the scale found elsewhere. The following statement at the end of Grade 11, Unit 4 is a clear example of this strategy: “The lives of a large percentage of the world’s people are so limited by starvation, illiteracy, disease, ugly surroundings, and short life expectancies that the poorest life in a wealthy country would seem better” (Saskatchewan Ministry of Education, 1994, p. 437). In this instance, the curriculum does not only deny any moral responsibility towards poor nations, but also towards poverty within the

nation state. It also glorifies the success of Western capitalism rather than fostering the students' critical thinking by questioning the existence of the Western privilege for high living standard in relation to poverty. As Nussbaum (1996/2002) maintains, presenting privileges as Western qualities that cannot be universalized is a moral hypocrisy. In addition, rather than examining poverty first locally, and then nationally and globally, the unit addresses poverty globally and broadly by presenting information about per capita income across the globe. The curriculum lists rural areas where the majority of the poor are located such as Africa, India, and Southeast Asia. In particular, it provides a list of a number of circumstances that trap poor people in a way to mostly blame the poor for their poverty and disconnect it from imperialism. Clearly, this is a hidden strategy to maintain the status quo and steer people away from endorsing cosmopolitan active agency such as boycotting particular products that are manufactured by companies that exploit the poor or rebelling against elitism and mainstream power in wealthy nations. It encourages insensitivity towards poor people rather than cosmopolitan sensibilities.

Underpinning of Neoliberalism/Capitalism

Neoliberalism is closely tied to capitalism as an economic and political ideology that emphasizes free trade, the market system, corporate deregulation, and globalization (Henry & Tator, 2006/2010, p. 16) and “is touted as the *only* option” (Orlowski, 2011, p. 176, emphasis in original). Much of the grades 10 to 11 social studies curriculum is centered on the market rationality and its emphasis on trade, high standard of living, consumerism, competition, production, individualism, and economic and political power. It focuses on the market system and its close ties to decision-making and exclusive entitlement for the high levels of privilege in society. Moreover, the curriculum associates democracy with the economic success of societies and their high standard of living as evident in the following excerpts:

1. “Democratic, industrial societies believe they offer a high standard of living based on:
 - high material well being,
 - opportunity for social mobility, and
 - individual autonomy based on freedom of choice” (Saskatchewan Ministry of Education, 1992, p. 210)

2. “How to distribute those goods and services to all who want them in a way that is satisfactory to the *majority*” (Saskatchewan Ministry of Education, 1992, p. 210, emphasis mine)

The emphasis on economic prosperity at the expense of promoting democratic values is a strategy that underpins “the suspicion against others, the intolerance of difference, the resentment of strangers, and the demands to separate and banish them, as well as the hysterical, paranoiac concern with ‘law and order’” (Bauman, 2001, as quoted in Henry & Tator, 2010, p. 16).

Neoliberalism is deeply equated with exclusionary nationalism, which is the antithesis of cosmopolitanism. Cosmopolitanism is an ethical concept that seeks to expand responsibility, care, and inclusivity across borders to support the powerless. It celebrates diversity and promotes equality and justice to all human beings. It emphasizes that social and global relations are mutually interdependent (Warf, 2012; Nussbaum, 1996/2002; Van Hooft, 2009). As Warf (2012) puts it, “Whereas neoliberalism celebrates the ostensibly free market, cosmopolitanism as a political philosophy focuses on questions of effective and progressive governance that cater to the subaltern, not those who enjoy wealth and political advantage” (p. 284). Unfortunately, neoliberalism is a much bigger influence than cosmopolitanism in the Saskatchewan social studies curriculum for grades 10-12.

Neoliberal features are enmeshed with various topics throughout the curriculum. These topics include democracy as already noted above, an absence of viewing poverty as a structural problem, and omitting the values and beliefs of minority groups. Indigenous peoples and their ideological beliefs, values, and perspectives on political issues are represented as the so called Other. Subtle stereotypical messages are embedded throughout the curriculum. The following excerpts demonstrate this bias:

1. Economic development has not been easy. Aboriginal peoples have had to learn:
 - the importance of profits and sound management practices;
 - that for businesses to succeed, business and management concerns sometimes must take precedence over ideological (values & beliefs) and political concerns.(Saskatchewan Ministry of Education, 1992, p. 230)
2. “Is it possible for Aboriginal people to remain economically dependent on the Canadian government and still retain their cultures?” (p. 229)

The titles of three grade-10 units in the social studies curriculum are a clear indication of this emphasis on neoliberalism as expressed in how the term ‘economic’ is used. Further, the titles of grade-10 units indicate a similar pro-capitalist orientation:

1. Political Decision Making
2. Economic Decision Making
3. Ideology and the Decision Making Process
4. International Economic Organizations
5. International Political Organizations

For example, in *Economic Decision Making*, students learn about the capitalist paradigm, business management, “the basics of market economy,” and all other related capitalist concepts (Saskatchewan Ministry of Education, 1992, p. 219). In *Ideology and the Decision Making Process*, ideology is defined as “a system of logic which influences economic and political decision” (Saskatchewan Ministry of Education, 1992, p. 316). In *International Political Organizations*, “students will examine the concept of international trade and will study how international trade affects the economic well-being of Canadians” (Saskatchewan Ministry of Education, 1992, p. 403). Two units in grade 11 social studies curriculum entitled *Wealth and Poverty* and *World Governance* also encompass tenets of neoliberalism and its close ally capitalism (Saskatchewan Ministry of Education, 1994). In *Wealth and Poverty*, students learn about economic development and economic success. I will further elaborate this point shortly. In *World Governance*, emphasis is also placed on trade and development, economic restructuring, and economic power: “The roles of the United Nations, various agencies, and established political and economic relationships involved in international decision making are part of this unit” (Saskatchewan Ministry of Education, 1994). Grade 12 also promotes capitalist thought as evidenced in three units out of five. On the other hand, there is a shift in grade 12 social studies in its approach to the representations of immigrant groups and First Nations. I will take up that point later. Further analysis of units from grades 10 to 11 will demonstrate the underlying capitalist orientation of the curriculum.

Grade 10, Unit 2 entitled *Economic Decision Making* introduces students to the concept of market economy based on needs and wants, the autonomy of the individual, competition, products and services, the management of a business, and the pursuit of a higher standard of living. A high standard of living is defined in material goods along some intangible things such

as recreation, leisure, surroundings, and meaning and purpose in life (Saskatchewan Ministry of Education, 1992). The reason for this capitalistic approach to the curriculum seems summed up in the following statement: “*Most* Canadians *accepted* a capitalistic economic system” (Saskatchewan Ministry of Education, 1992, p. 214, emphasis mine). This is how hegemony works in the curriculum. It gives students the impression that particular status quo systems of domination are accepted by the majority for their own interests (Orlowski, 2011).

The success of capitalism is also reinforced in Grade 10, Unit 2 by juxtaposing the ‘failure’ of agricultural economy of Aboriginal peoples in Canada against the successful economy of Japan. The curriculum emphasizes that the success of Japan in the capitalist market and its economic growth was mainly due to the “willingness of individuals to put the interests of their country and/or their company ahead of their personal interests” (Saskatchewan Ministry of Education, 1992, p. 234). Here, the curriculum implies that the interests of companies are of equal value to the interests of the country. Support for capitalism is more overtly contained in the following statement: “Know that one of the integral factors in Japan’s economic success is that Japanese have learned to understand, respect, and follow the basic principles of the market economy” (p. 234). This juxtaposition of the ‘failure’ of the agricultural economy of Aboriginal peoples against the success of the Japanese economy serves three hegemonic purposes. First, it seeks to indoctrinate students in capitalist thinking. Second, it creates resentments towards Aboriginal peoples’ worldview manifested in the attempt to push them aside. Third, the assumed failure of Aboriginal peoples to achieve economic success is constructed as a cultural issue cloaked in the blame-the-victim discourse to distract attention from the devastating impacts of colonialism on the agricultural economy of Aboriginal peoples. The blame-the-victim discourse assumes that failure of integration of particular groups in the mainstream society “is largely due to recalcitrant members of these groups refusing to adapt their “traditional,” “different” cultural values and norms to fit into Canadian society and making unreasonable demands on the “host” society” (Henry & Tator, 2006/2010, p. 13).

The same hegemonic strategies endorsing capitalism are reinforced in Grade 11, Unit 4, entitled *Wealth and Poverty*. In particular, this unit stresses the need for Aboriginal peoples to accept economic change and join the industrialized and technological world for the sake of their wellbeing, economically, socially, and physically. The unit is structured in a way that first takes the students through a process that starts with highlighting the importance of wealth for the well-

being of the individual. Though wealth is defined as consisting of several components such as material wealth, equal opportunity, good health, a sense of community, and so on, the subtle message is that economic wealth is what facilitates the acquisition of other components of wealth: the curriculum writes, “Healthy human beings have an ongoing concern about their well-being. Throughout human history material deprivation has been the major concern for humanity” (Saskatchewan Ministry of Education, 1994, p. 408). In other words, materialism is tied to the wellbeing of humanity, clearly anti-cosmopolitan, an assumption that is interwoven and reinforced in different ways throughout the unit. Another section of this unit is *Measures of Personal and Social Well-Being* while the immediate subtitle is *The Goals of Economic Development*. Highlighted is the work of the economist in securing the wellbeing of people: “Economists and others have attempted to devise systems that will give a valid measure of the well-being of people and societies” (p. 412). Several economic indicators are introduced such as per capita energy consumption, calorie consumption, and the like. Second, the unit points to the failure of Aboriginal peoples to embrace change, a failure, which results in their turn to alcoholism. Again, the blame-the-victim discourse is used. This is exemplified by the corresponding activity that requires students to discuss the quality of life of an Aboriginal community in the Amazon rain forest according to two measures: one is economic such as the GNP that could improve as a result of trade. The other is social in relation to alcoholism, suicide rates, and so forth. The curriculum asks the students to discuss the following:

Will the quality of life for an Aboriginal group of people living in the Amazon rain forest be improved by entering a modern industrial economic system:

- an economic measure such as GNP might indicate that their economic activity (trading) had gone up considerably leading to the inference that they were better off.
- certain social indicators (alcohol consumed, suicide rates, etc.) might lead to quite different inferences about the group’s well-being. (Saskatchewan Ministry of Education, 1994, p. 413)

The unit also creates the impression that the cause of social problems in Aboriginal communities is their reluctance to give up their traditional way of life and undergo cultural adjustment to meet the demand of a modern society. As a result, the curriculum suggests they are caught in what is called the “Indigenous Trap” (p. 424). I have more to say about this so called indigenous ‘trap’ in relation to colonialism below.

Similarly, Grade 10, Unit 4 entitled *International Economic Organizations* introduces students to neoliberal capitalism at a global level. Concepts discussed in this unit include economic security, international trade, standards of living, consumerism, specialization, economic efficiency, economic advantage, protectionism, and trade war without discussing the detrimental effects that these economic strategies and measures have had on ordinary persons or undeveloped nations.

It is clear that the curriculum here is in stark contrast to cosmopolitanism. Cosmopolitanism is hostile to injustices, inequality in the distribution of wealth, exploitation of the underprivileged and discrimination based on classism, gender, race, and so forth. It highlights ethical concerns in our interconnected relationships nationally and globally for the wellbeing of humanity. This involves care for the environment, democratic citizenship, engagement with difference, and fulfillment of human rights.

White Supremacy and the Social Contract

The term *supremacy* and whatever it implies is clearly in opposition to the cosmopolitan position that entails *equal* moral worth to every individual. While the concept of social contract places emphasis on reason over morality and hierarchy (ruler and ruled) over equality, cosmopolitanism gives primacy to morality and equality in all our interconnection. From the contract theorists' perspective such as Hobbes, individuals become "merely as rights-bearers able to enter into nothing more emotional than pragmatically constructed civic relationships with others" (Van Hooff, 2009, p. 22). The notion of the social contract underlies the grades 10 to 11 curriculum as stated in the overview of the goals of grade 10, Unit 1:

As part of that process students will learn the concept of social contract and its role in making clear the rights and duties of the members of any social organization. Students will use the concepts [sic] of social contract and power to study the way political structures such as Parliament and government make decisions and carry them out in governing society. (Saskatchewan Ministry of Education, 1992, p. 103)

Then, the unit states the following definition of the social contract in Canadian society: "Know that a social contract is an agreement between those who lead and those who follow" (p. 116). The social contract is also referred to in grade 11 social studies curriculum.

I argue that it is Mills' (1997) theory of the "Racial Contract" that enables me to understand the hidden curriculum of the social studies in Saskatchewan high schools, particularly

in relation to the concept of social contract. Mills (1997) contends that “White supremacy is the unnamed political system that has made the modern world what it is today” (p. 1). The term *White supremacy* is omitted in the classic texts on political theory. These texts will take the readers through “two thousand years of Western philosophy” from Plato to Hobbes, Locke, and Rawls to concepts such as democracy, socialism, and so on, without mentioning the White supremacist system that shaped the world (p. 1). The reason is that these texts are “written or designed by whites, who take their racial privilege so much for granted that they do not see it as *political*, as a form of domination” (p. 1).

Further, Mills (1997) states that the social contract is actually a *Racial Contract* because it is a contract only between “we the white people” (p. 3). The parameters of the Racial Contract are summed up in the following definition: “Racial Contract is political, moral, epistemological; the Racial Contract is real, and economically, in determining who gets what, the Racial Contract is an exploitation contract” (Mills, 1997, p. 9). In other words, the Racial Contract assigns differential privileges to Whites, gives them the rights to exploit the “bodies, land and resources” of the non-Whites, and provides them with moral justifications for the inequalities they created and for the denial of the socioeconomic opportunities to non-Whites (p. 11). The Racial Contract dictates to its White adherents an “epistemology of ignorance” and self-deception to serve the economic and political polity of White such as colonialism, conquest, and enslavement (pp. 16-17). Grades 10 to 11 social studies curriculum, as this analysis demonstrates, is evidence to Mills’ argument. Here are more examples directly related to the notion of the social contract.

The first page of the first unit of grade 10 entitled *Political Decision Making* emphasizes the concepts of the social contract and power as the ways society operates and assigns the rights and duties of its citizens or members of any social organization. Thus, it is not surprising that the foundational objectives listed for this lesson are geared towards reinforcing the notions of “control”, “sanctions”, “legitimation of constraints,” “enforcement of conclusions,” and “discipline” for the collective interest of society (Saskatchewan Ministry of Education, 1992, p. 105). For example, students are to “know that individuals within organizations must have some way of resolving differences and making and *enforcing* conclusions so that a collective course of action can be carried out” (p. 105, emphasis mine). Students must also “know that the regulation of social organizations *disciplines* human behavior to *conform* to some *definite, continuous, and organized pattern* of behaviour” (Saskatchewan Ministry of Education, 1992, p. 105, emphasis

mine). These knowledge stems are further reinforced in the unit. For example, after the notion of conformity has been stated, the curriculum poses the following question for discussion: “Should conformity take precedence over individualism?” (p. 111). The implied response is obvious.

The notion of the social contract in this lesson also propagates the legitimacy of obedience and hierarchy, or to use Mills’ words “White supremacy,” as “the unnamed political system” (p. Mills, 1997, p. 1) in different ways. First, the wording of the following definition of social contract in the curriculum reveals the importance of hierarchy along with freedom, order and equality:

Every social grouping has a set of understandings, often *tacit*, which everyone in the group subscribes to. These understandings must, in some way, define for all members of the group how they can expect to be treated and how they are expected to treat others. Freedom & order and equality & hierarchy are four important considerations which in some way are defined and distributed by these understandings. (Saskatchewan Ministry of Education, 1992, p. 112)

On the same page the term ‘hierarchy’ is defined as follows: “Know that hierarchy is any system of people ranked into levels in which the higher levels have more dignity, privilege, power, responsibility, etc [sic] than do people in the lower levels” (p. 112). Then, the following question reiterates the importance of hierarchy: “Should freedom be considered more important than order and should equality be considered more important than hierarchy?” (p. 113). It appears that hierarchy is a matter of gradation in importance rather than an antonym of equality. The hidden assumption here is that the hierarchy of races has an “uncontroversial validity” with different rules applied to different levels (Mills, 1997, p. 27). On the other hand, some activities aim to engage students in analyzing conflicts and discussing the role of power and how to countervail it. Subsequently, the numerous repetitions of messages for conformity and acceptance of hierarchies render hierarchy as the norm and the standard. Neoconservatism is strongly entrenched in this curriculum.

Further, change was previously portrayed as necessary for economic success when the curriculum urged Aboriginal peoples to change in order to prosper economically. Later, in Grade 10, Unit 3, change is portrayed as the causes of “uncertainty and insecurity which in turn leads to an emphasis on order and hierarchy” and their acceptance by the ruled members of society

(Saskatchewan Ministry of Education, 1992, p. 312). Here the social contract intersects with neoconservatism and its emphasis on depicting the Other as a source of threat and insecurity.

The notions of ideology and the social contract are presented in a way that decides who is legitimate to hold the power that establishes purpose, order, and security. Further, the notion of ideology is used to explain how political and economic decisions are shaped by three ideologies. These are liberalism, conservatism, and socialism who all value “freedom & order and equality & hierarchy” (Saskatchewan Ministry of Education, 1992, p. 320). Thus, in this ‘democratic’ system, there is no escape from hierarchy. In this system as well, concepts such as feminism, social justice, and multiculturalism are omitted which is another indication of the neoconservative ideology that favors tradition and hierarchy.

The corresponding activities in this Grade 10, Unit 3 seem to promote awareness of the existence of various ideological perspectives. It engages students in critical thinking of controversial issues and issues of injustices, invites them to reflect on their own positions and assume responsibility to redress injustices incurred by the political decisions of their government. For example, the first part of a corresponding activity requires students to discuss a social issue from the perspective of each ideology such as conservatism, liberalism, and socialism (Saskatchewan Ministry of Education, 1992, p. 323). The list of these issues includes the prevention of crimes, environmental issues, poverty in society, and so forth. Then students are asked to reflect on their positions towards incurred injustices and their political responsibility to redress them. The follow-up activity places students in different political parties and requires them to advocate a public policy according to their assigned political platform. The unit continues by introducing the students to the activities of interest groups to gain power and influence in decision-making. The question here is what outcome is expected from this activity? Is a consensus expected to emerge based on social justice and human rights? Or is divergence of opinion encouraged to reflect the fragmentation of the political society? Noteworthy, in Grade 10, Unit 1, the curriculum instructs teachers to “suggest to students that one basis for deciding public policy [regarding controversial issues] is the principle ‘the greatest good for the greatest number’” (p. 123). In this manner, the curriculum reflects a utilitarian social contract approach.

Denial of Canada and Western’s Colonial Past/Blame-the-Victim Discourse

Canada’s colonial past and the devastating effects of colonialism on Aboriginal peoples and on the developing world are ignored throughout grades 10 to 11. However, they are

explicitly denied in Grade 12: “Canada has no colonial past” (Saskatchewan Ministry of Education, 1997, p. 528). As a result, this “dominant group’s refusal to examine its own complicity in oppressing others” (Razack, 1998, as cited in Green, 2006, p. 513) is also a dominant theme across the curriculum. For example, in Grade 10, Unit 2 social studies curriculum, the section entitled *Economic Development Among Indian Peoples in Saskatchewan* simply states that the end of the fur trade and the diminishing supply of the buffalo caused the traditional Aboriginal economies to collapse (Saskatchewan Ministry of Education, 1992). Here there is no reference to the fur trade monopoly that took place at that time of history or any notion about colonization. The unit denies economic colonialism in the following definition of “economic change”: “Know that the arrival of Europeans brought irreversible changes to Aboriginal economies, and that some of these changes were contrary to the traditional Aboriginal world view” (p. 226). The final educational message at this point of the unit is that Aboriginal peoples had a failing experience with farming which necessitated their need for welfare. This could lead students to develop stereotypes of inferiority for First Nations and entrench existing ones.

In addition, Grade 10, Unit 3 introduces students to Treaty rights without the historical and cultural context of the Treaty rights of Indigenous peoples or any controversy around these Treaties other than a brief mention that the Federal government and the Indian Bands have “conflicting beliefs about the legal/moral obligations of these treaties” (Saskatchewan Ministry of Education, 1992, p. 338). Questionable is the purpose of some of the statements or questions inserted in this unit around the Treaty rights issues. For example, consider the following question: “Does long periods of time make a contract invalid?” (p. 339). Then consider the following one: “Understand that Canada’s federal governments have historically believed that its legal obligations under treaty stem only from the written, literal stipulations within treaties” (Saskatchewan Ministry of Education, 1992, p. 340). In other words, the curriculum asserts the validity of written documents and implicitly suggests that oral historical narratives are not legal. This assertion is inaccurate and fails to take into account several Supreme Court rulings. Subsequent decisions of the Supreme Court of Canada regarding Aboriginal and Treaty rights to hunting, fishing, and property rights took into consideration, not only the textual components of the treaties, but also the oral historical narratives of the negotiations that led to the signing of the treaties (Carr-Stewart, 2001). Drawing on a number of scholarly works, Carr-Stewart provides

the following examples of court rulings related to treaties: *R. v. Taylor* in 1981, the *Sioui* ruling in 1990, *R. v. Badger* in 1996, and *R. v. Sparrow* in 1990.

At this point, it is useful to revisit Papastephanou's (2002) critique of Nussbaum's universal cosmopolitanism. Papastephanou's contention with Nussbaum's cosmopolitan education is that "*it overlooks the historical-relational dimension of cross-cultural encounters and the impediments posed by unresolved historical conflicts to the goal of cultural reconciliation*" (p. 69, emphasis in original). In other words, the evasion of historical narratives of past injustices that creates misconceptions about cross-cultural encounters hinders reconciliation and justice. Papastephanou points out that history narratives tend to ignore historical conflicts either out of convenience by the dominant oppressive culture and "let the bygones be bygones" or under the false assumption that teaching about past injustice keeps ethnic hatred alive (p. 80). In studying the past, it best serves our cross-cultural relations to include the Other's perspective rather than evade it, she argues. Papastephanou strongly stresses the "study of *our relations* to other cultures synchronically and diachronically – not only from our point of view but also from theirs" (p. 80, emphasis in original). Unfortunately, the social studies curriculum denies many voices and presents an entanglement of misconceptions.

This section of Grade 10, Unit 2 about the economic development among Aboriginal peoples in Saskatchewan is followed by one section on the successful economic development of Japan in a capitalist market economy, and then by one on the deterioration of Nigeria's economy after its independence. When all the sections of the unit are taken together as one structure, the educational message that emanates from them reinforces and justifies the hidden curriculum of economic colonialism towards Aboriginal peoples. This is evident in the following statement:

Economic development has not been easy. Aboriginal peoples have had to learn:

- the importance of profits and sound management practices;
- that for businesses to succeed, business and management concerns sometimes must take precedence over ideological (values & beliefs) and political concerns.

(Saskatchewan Ministry of Education, 1992, p. 230)

After this affirmation for the need to change, on one hand, the unit hails Aboriginal peoples for achieving independence in the form of group entrepreneurship (a capitalist terminology) while it asserts that success in a capitalist market requires interdependence (p. 230). The hidden purpose of this curriculum is subtly consistent with the educational purpose of the residential schools

system that was “to alter the children’s identities away from their original cultures to one that was regarded by authorities as appropriate for life in the dominant society” (Wotherspoon, 2014, p. 128). It necessitates the transformation of Aboriginal peoples’ character, identity, and consciousness towards embracing entrepreneurship and abandoning their cultural identity.

Similarly, Grade 11, Unit 1 on human rights culminates in discussing the difficulty in attaining social justice for Indigenous peoples globally. Here again we encounter denial of the impact of colonialism on the plight of Indigenous peoples. This unit subtly blames Indigenous peoples for their plight because of their inability to assimilate into the structures of the developed world. The curriculum states that members of Indigenous groups worldwide who attempt to acculturate, particularly the young, face “rejection by the more developed society, become ashamed of their Indigenous status, and reject their cultural values” (Saskatchewan Ministry of Education, 1997, p. 156). Consequently, they become alcoholic and drug users, resort to crimes and are more likely to commit suicide. The curriculum does not attempt to dispel these misconceptions but takes the blame-the-victim approach, a discursive strategy used by the elite as part of the denial of racism towards marginalized groups (Van Dijk, 1992). This strategy was deployed throughout this lesson as already mentioned. Further, the fact that the curriculum states this condition of Indigenous peoples in global context across various nations such as North America, Australia, and Japan renders the case of Aboriginal peoples as essentially cultural and negating any claim related to the oppression by White people (Green, 2006). Here the denial of racism is exercised, first, by persuasively constructing negative representations of the Other (Van Dijk, 1992). Second, it places these problems in a global context to imply that they are inherently cultural and not national or local. To quote the curriculum, it states “the proportionally higher percentage of Aboriginals in prison populations worldwide is evidence that the justice system discriminates against Aboriginals. Agree or disagree” (Saskatchewan Ministry of Education, 1994, p. 157).

Denial of economic colonialism and imperialism across the globe is also prevalent across the curriculum in many ways. First, the historical starting point for discussing Nigeria’s devastating economy is after its independence from British colonialism. Thus, British colonialism is being disconnected from its damaging effects on Nigeria’s economy after its independence in 1960 and the blame-the-victim discourse is used. The curriculum puts the blame for Nigeria’s bad economy on the ethnic and cultural tensions among the native population.

Statements about Nigeria's economy are presented in the passive tense, erasing any relation to colonialism. Here are some examples:

- “Since the early 1960's [sic], the economic framework of Nigeria has depended upon oil exploration and output” (p. 238)
- “Prior to the 1960's [sic] the country's economic based [sic] was agriculture” (p. 238)
- “Understand that the wealth generated by oil resulted in the deterioration of agriculture as the traditional economic base” (p. 238)

The curriculum does not acknowledge that Britain has exercised its hegemonic power, economically, politically, and socially in Nigeria as it has “exacerbated differences of class, region, and community in Nigeria” (Nigeria-The Colonial Economic Legacy, January 28, 2015, para. 5). This led to the emergence of corrupt elites who maintained the colonial legacy after Nigeria's independence by oppressing minorities and resorting to rewards and sanctions to maintain their powerful position. The part of Nigeria's history is omitted. Again, omission is used “as a hegemonic strategy” (Orlowski, 2011, p. 49).

The denial of colonialism towards Aboriginal peoples is again strongly reinforced in Grade 11, Unit 4 entitled *Wealth and Poverty*. As noted above, this unit justifies the hidden connotations embedded in the term “Indigenous Trap” (Saskatchewan Ministry of Education, 1994, p. 424). It defines this concept as such: “Know that Aboriginal people fall into the trap of being unable to find their cultural identity and being unable to join the modern society thus turning to solutions such as alcohol etc” (p. 424). Almost the whole unit aims at justifying the belief in the Indigenous trap rather than negating it. It blatantly juxtaposes the success of the modern industrial and technological society against the traditional worldviews “being inadequate to the needs of the future” (p. 430). While the curriculum denies colonialism, it insidiously justifies it on the other hand, as the following analysis reveals.

Insidious Justification of Colonialism and Imperialism Nationally and Globally

The curriculum is a state-sanctioned blatant rationalization of imperialism and colonialism under the guise of protecting the nation's security and sovereignty. As a reminder, imperialism and colonialism diverge significantly from cosmopolitanism as the latter assigns equal moral worth to every human being, respect for other cultures, human rights, and equal distribution of resources. Grade 10, Unit 5 implicitly justifies the imperialistic ambitions of Western nations in the context of the Middle East without any concern for the detrimental

consequences of imperialism on the lives of the ordinary peoples who inhabit this part of the world. As Immanuel Kant (1795) puts it, foreigners exploit others' lands "as lands without owners" (p. 7). The first paragraph of the overview of this unit reads,

The nation state has an *overriding* goal of protecting its security both from threats within and outside of the state. Nation states are *determined* to protect their sovereignty by *maintaining* and *extending* their *power* wherever it can. This may cause problems between groups within the state and it certainly causes problems in relations between states. (Saskatchewan Ministry of Education, 1992, p. 503)

The wording of this paragraph highlights that the rationale for the use of power as exemplified in the words 'overriding', 'determined', 'maintaining', 'extending', and 'power' is based on authoritative reason and excludes opportunities for negotiations. It is the rationalization of imperialism explicitly justified in terms of being part of an "increasingly interdependent world" (p. 503). The term 'interdependent' implicitly refers to the operations of imperialism that is interdependent on the competition with other powerful states for resources identified in "strategic areas" such as the Middle East (p. 514). A related knowledge statement stem reads, "know the goal of national sovereignty is in a constant state of tension with the goal of global interdependence" (p. 505) or, as I understand it, global imperialism. The following rationale excerpts from the curriculum, read sequentially, are worth highlighting because they demonstrate how the hidden curriculum hegemonically rationalizes and naturalizes imperialism as a self-serving national policy obliterating the harm it brings on the colonized population.

1. "There is *no* nation in the world that is economically self-sufficient. *All* nations depend on other nations for an array of resources" (Saskatchewan Ministry of Education, 1992, p. 514, emphasis mine).
2. "Interdependence: Know that a nation must provide for itself a secure and inexpensive supply of resources, energy, and food" (p. 514).
3. "In a *modern* industrial world there are some key needs which nations *have* to fill if they want to maintain their *national power*" (p. 514, emphasis mine).
4. "Know that certain areas of the world because of their resources and location are seen as contributors to the national power of any nation controlling the area" (p. 505). (Note the use of the term "areas" rather than "nations" which indicates that certain areas with rich resources are not acknowledged as sovereign nations)

5. “Certain parts of the world have become *strategic areas* because of their resources and their location. Many nations *covet* these areas because they would augment a nation’s national power” (p. 514, emphasis mine).
6. “The Middle East is a good example of such an area. The Middle East is the world’s largest *supplier* of oil and is very *convenient* to the world’s largest users of petroleum products” (p. 514, emphasis mine).
7. “Know that nations, assuming a *competitive* and *threatening* world, will take whatever steps are necessary to protect their strategic interests” (p. 514, emphasis mine).
8. “Who has the *right* to a territory like Suez: those whose land its on or those who developed it?” (p. 517, emphasis mine).

Clearly, the term ‘imperialism’ is insidiously replaced by phrases such as ‘global interdependence’ (p. 505), ‘Sovereignty & Interdependence’ and “Maintaining and Extending National Power” (p. 514). Obviously, we will not come across openness in naming White supremacy or imperialism in such statements because as Mills (1997) contends, White people write the past in a way “to deny or minimize the obvious fact of global white domination” (p. 27). The educational message in this unit is closely aligned with Said’s (1978/2003) notion of “Orientalism.” Orientalism implies that the West is a “corporate institution” with a legitimate mandate for “dominating, restructuring, and having authority over the Orient” (p. 4). Orientalism discourse remains powerful over generations because it puts hegemony at work in institutions such as schools, unions, and families where it produces knowledge that disseminates the superiority of the West over the Orient (p. 7). Said’s notion of Orientalism is in stark contradiction to Kant’s notion of cosmopolitanism (Rizvi, 2009, p. 256). Education becomes hegemonic in the sense that it disseminates a new understanding of global connectivity by propagating colonial global consciousness that legitimates colonialism on moral grounds for the sake of “the colonized and the colonizing populations alike” (Rizvi, 2009, p. 256). The hegemonic role of schooling is exemplified in this unit (Grade 10, Unit 5). The notion of Orientalism is further reinforced in an activity that emphasizes the right of the government to use power to maintain its security and the security of its people, among others.

It is useful here to make one reference to how hegemony operates in education. The curriculum is organized, structured, and presented to teachers and the students alike in the form of ideas and facts of one subject as separate from other subjects and related contexts. In this way,

it obscures the interconnections between ideas and hinders the development of critical thinking (Wotherspoon, 2014). In this unit, Grade 10, Unit 5, the Middle East is stripped of its cultural, ethnic, religious or national value and rendered as a mere supplier for wealth to be exploited to protect the capitalist competition among powerful states. Powerful nations have the rights to these strategic areas that they have developed, whether peacefully or through violence, warfare, and supremacy. The inhabitants of these lands, the curriculum implies, have no rights for their lands. This is another example of the implications of Mills' (1997) notion of Racial Contract. As a reminder at this point, the curriculum was written in 1992, not long ago. The impact of this imperialist mindset horribly reverberates until our present time. Despite that the unit suggests that the United Nations has the potential to govern as a single world government to implement peace, the stronger implied educational message is the rationalization of imperialism, as demonstrated above.

Misrepresentation/Silencing of Minority Groups

A close reading of this Grade 10, Unit 2 indicates that those who are included in the expression of 'most Canadians' are only the mainstream dominant population, which is constituted from White settlers from British origin. Voices of Aboriginal peoples and immigrant groups are not only excluded; Aboriginal groups are stereotyped as a traditional minority while immigrant groups are almost invisibly embedded in the use of term 'minority' that is mostly used, as I understood it, to suggest Indigenous peoples. It seems that multiculturalism is banned in this curriculum. French Quebecers' presence is omitted. Omission in the curriculum "is a hegemonic strategy" to serve the interests of the elite in a society (Orlowski, 2011, p. 49). In contrast, cosmopolitanism embraces cultural diversity within the nation as well as across boundaries, acknowledges the importance of inter-cultural encounters, and rejects homogenous cultural communities, parochialism, and strong nationalism (Kleingeld & Brown, 2006).

Further, there is no multicultural content in the grades 10 to 11 curriculum. Immigrant minority groups related to immigration are almost invisible and, thus, rendered silent. Silencing in education occurs when the curriculum omits or devalues the experiences and interests of usually the marginalized groups. Evidently, it also occurs when particular issues are ignored in the classroom in favor of the dominant views (Wotherspoon, 2014). This silencing of particular voices occurs in this curriculum with occasional reference to marginalized groups, a reference that negatively portrays them. For example, in terms of national minorities, issues regarding

Quebec are omitted while Aboriginal peoples are reified and stereotyped as possessing only traditional culture and values that need to change to cope with the modern world. Minority in general is considered as a threat to majority across the curriculum. This perspective exhibits a neoconservative ideology that sees minorities as a threat to their traditional ways of life. For example, in Grade 10, Unit 1 entitled *Political Decision Making*, the relationship between majority and minority is presented in an insidious way that is infused throughout the unit in its structure, wording of statements, and questions. The unit subtly suggests that minorities can be a threat to the majority because they can resort to violence, cause civil war, or take up undemocratic measures to force the majority to address their concerns. First, note the association of minorities with the term ‘unpopular’ in the following example of a controversial issue necessitating change: “protecting the rights of minorities, however unpopular, to live their lives according to their consciences” (Saskatchewan Ministry of Education, 1992, p. 118). Then note the following question: “If the majority rejects a change as being *illegitimate*, what kinds of pressure can a minority apply to get the majority to change its attitude?” (p. 119, emphasis mine). Furthering this line of inquiry, note the following excerpt:

“Somewhere in society there must be the residual power to make and enforce unpopular decisions. This can result in the creation of:

- civil war;
- terrorism; and/or
- the creation of a police state” (p. 120).

The unit culminates with the history of the bloody violence in Nigeria between the minority group referred to as the Hausa people and the majority group known as Igbo people of Eastern Nigeria. The related knowledge statement stem states the following: “Know that if minorities feel that there [sic] concerns are not being addressed within the political structure they may resort to violence or sabotage” (p. 132). The neoconservative ideology is again asserted here as minority groups are always linked with unpopular practices and a threat to the nation. Moreover, hegemony is operating here “in the form of prearranged units of information” (Wotherspoon, 2014, p. 144).

In Grade 11, Unit 1 entitled *Human Rights*, an activity regarding the obligations of the majority towards the minority is inserted as follows: Students are asked to identify “unpopular and unattractive individuals” that do not fit the “mainstream, normal Canadianism” (p. 125). The

students work on a list of Canadian behaviors, values, and attitudes. In a weird twist, which I cannot explain except in terms of a confusing curriculum, the students are also asked to identify the critical characteristics of the concepts of pluralism, democracy, minority, and majority (p. 125). These two lists are for the students to consider who is entitled for human rights. One of the questions listed next to this activity reads as follows:

Does an individual who is *not socially acceptable* in significant ways have a moral and legal claim to human rights if that individual:

- does *not contribute* to society in any way;
 - *deviate* from the basic norms of society; and/or
 - does not accept the basic moral, religious, and social assumptions of the majority?
- (Saskatchewan Ministry of Education, 1994, p. 125, emphasis mine).

Grade 10, Unit 5 further portrays pluralism as a problem that has to be addressed by the state in a particular society such as Canada, Israel, and USSR (Saskatchewan Ministry of Education, 1992, p. 512). The choice of words to describe the relationships among various groups in a heterogeneous state exemplifies this negative perspective about pluralism: “States such as these are divided into geographic rivalries, cultural (religious) antagonism, and language barriers” (p. 512). Therefore, according to the curriculum, only the government of a state has the right to use force because the force in the hands of any other group will lead to civil war. As demonstrated, this is an example of the neoconservative ideology that emphasizes the exclusive role of the state in decision-making and depicts immigrants as a threat to the nation’s social cohesion.

The discourse in this activity operates to produce racism towards immigrants and other minority groups. It propagates negative representation of the Other juxtaposed against positive self-presentation (Van Dijk, 1992, p. 88). Therefore, it is evident that the curriculum, particularly grades 10 to 11, employs “a double strategy of positive self-presentation [of majority], on the one hand, and a strategy of expressing subtle, indirect or sometimes more blatant forms of negative other-representation, on the other hand” (Van Dijk, 1992, p. 89). From a cosmopolitan perspective, the curriculum should foster loyalty to cultural ascriptions, but also reflective distance from them as well as receptiveness and interests in difference (Appiah, 2006, p. xv).

The rights of cultural and religious groups are discussed in the context of utilitarianism that places emphasis on the question “is the greatest good for the greatest number?”

(Saskatchewan Ministry of Education, 1992, p. 123), a concept that marginalizes and devalues the interests of minority groups. As demonstrated, an activity in Grade 10, addresses real cases relevant to contemporary Canadian society. It requires students to discuss how society should deal with the following two issues raised by interest groups:

1. “A request that the military and police forces modify their uniforms so that cultural groups with special dress regulations can be members,” and
2. “A request by cultural or religious groups to receive public funding to educate their children according to their own culture and religion” (Saskatchewan Ministry of Education, 1992, p. 121).

I turn now to explore how utilitarianism is promoted in the curriculum.

Utilitarianism: “Is the Greatest Good for the Greatest Number?”

In addressing the role of the government in making decisions to protect its citizens’ rights in a democracy, the curriculum strongly suggests a utilitarian approach. Utilitarianism is developed around the question “Is the ‘greatest good for the greatest number?’” (Noddings, 2012, p. 159). This question clearly entrenches the concept of inequality and differentiation in the distribution of wealth. Wiggins (2005) finds a problem with the concept of utility because it places primacy on people’s strong preferences, over rights, no matter how excessive these preferences are (as cited in Van Hooft, 2009, p. 67). This leads to indiscrimination at a great length and causes the violation of human rights. I also find that the utility question is in alignment with the French thinker Alexis de Tocqueville’s notion of “tyranny of the majority,” a despotism that corrupts the minds and souls of the minority to become passive citizens (2010, p. 307). His view is worth quoting at length because it is relevant to describe the general underlying assumption of the curriculum and not only this emergent theme. Tocqueville states:

Despotism creates in the soul of those who are subjected to it a blind passion for tranquility, a kind of depraved taste for obedience, a sort of inconceivable self-contempt that ends up making them indifferent to their interests and enemies of their own rights. (2010, p. 386)

In contrast, cosmopolitanism emphasizes that justification for preferences should be valid among all people across traditional and cultural boundaries (Van Hooft, 2009). It protects individual rights that are essential for cultivating critical thinking rather than surrendering to the will of the

powerful. Further, human rights assert that all human beings should be accorded “the same unconditional rights” (Myers, 2006).

This question of utility is frequently repeated across the grades 10 to 11 curriculum, and reinserted again in the grade 12 curriculum. It appears that the purpose of this repetition in addition to the corresponding content and activities is to inculcate this idea in the students’ minds. For example, in Grade 10, Unit 1, the curriculum asks the teacher in a corresponding activity to suggest that this principle is one way to make public policy decisions (Saskatchewan Ministry of Education, 1992, p. 123). At one point in this unit, the curriculum points to the history of Nigeria, a distant context in terms of place and time, as an example of a conflict between minority and majority groups. This conflict culminated in a bloody civil war when the majority did not address the concerns of the minority group. Then the minority group attempted to “break away from Nigeria” (p. 132). Though the message is somehow mixed with a concern of fairness towards minority groups, the hidden message emphasizes utilitarianism.

Further, another issue can be raised regarding this utilitarian approach, which is also embedded in the reference to the presentation of the history of Nigeria. What are the implications of a utilitarian approach for the rights of immigrant minority groups and national minorities? To what extent does this approach allow injustices against these minorities? Obviously, the answer is embedded in the slogan “the greatest good for the greatest number” (Saskatchewan Ministry of Education, 1992, p. 123), which is in stark contrast to human rights and its emphasis on justice and equality to all human beings. As Noddings (2012) observes, “Utilitarian thought can support a scenario in which some people live in comparative misery, but it would not allow huge numbers to suffer, and the best of it would not allow even a small number to suffer horribly for the mere hedonistic happiness of many” (p. 184). It appears that the curriculum supports the first part of this statement in the way it addresses the relationships between minority and majority, as examined in this dissertation. Utilitarianism is reinforced again in Grade 11, Unit 1 in the following statement: “It is difficult to determine a just and equitable balance of rights and obligations between groups with competing interests” (p. 104). In other words, the curriculum creates the impression that inequality and injustices are inevitable in group relationships, with the balance tipped in favor of the majority. Grade 11, Unit 1 on human rights also exhibits utilitarian thought.

Narrow Approach to Human Rights Issues

Grade 11, Unit 1 entitled *Human Rights* skims over issues related to violence, oppression, and discrimination towards minorities and is blind to the operation of power. The unit deploys systematic and subtle use of discursive strategies that serve the elites' agenda for the denial of racism. It essentializes claims for superiority by virtue of one's privilege that is earned by one's contribution to society. The following highlights how the discursive strategies for the denial of racism are subtly woven into this unit:

First, the way human rights are defined in this unit creates confusion because it interweaves the interests in humanity with the interests in capitalism. On one hand, it states that these rights are universal and based on humanity regardless of one's gender, nationality, race, political beliefs, and religion (Saskatchewan Ministry of Education, 1994, p. 106). The introduction to human rights unit is followed by a section on the rapid increase of technological innovation and its impact on societies in making decisions regarding cultural environment, political, economic, and international issues. This section also emphasizes competition and progress in wealth and power for the sake of the "wellbeing of the greatest number of people possible" (Saskatchewan Ministry of Education, 1994, p. 111). The purpose of the insertion of this section on the advance of technology is perhaps to justify the necessity of inequality among groups, and accept a minimal version of human rights, as subtly stated in the following statements:

1. "Know that the impact of technological change varies among different groups within society" (Saskatchewan Ministry of Education, 1994, p. 110).
2. "Know that technological change confers more power and wealth on certain groups than it does on other groups" (110).

This unit on human rights is appalling in the way it addresses slavery. Rather than using a language that condemns and exposes abominable slavery, the curriculum uses a positive and vindicating language. The definition of slavery in this unit reads as such: "Slavery is an example of a *human rights* paradigm which for thousands of years was *accepted* as being *proper* and *morally* justifiable" (Saskatchewan Ministry of Education, 1994, p. 116, emphasis mine). This definition is followed by a series of statements that highlight the prejudices in the beliefs of slave owners. However, rather than condemning these prejudices, the unit refers to them simply as "beliefs underlying slavery" (p. 116). This section is culminated with a statement that glorifies

how the “American South was totally transformed by the presence of slavery,” suggesting that slavery was good for economic prosperity (p. 116). In this section, it is also noticeable that the history of slavery is written in general terms in relation to the American context, almost entirely omitting the lived experiences of Black people. Blacks are rendered somehow invisible. Their existence is to be inferred from the term slavery. Further, the pivotal role of Martin Luther King in the success of the Civil Rights Movement in United States is not only briefly mentioned, but it is also downplayed when cloaked within the language of failure as in this question: “Did Martin Luther King *fail* in achieving his ideals because his moral vision was never accepted by a majority of Americans?” (p. 141, emphasis mine). At this point of the unit, which is different in tone than its second half, as I will point out later, there is almost a complete omission of any specificity of the consequences of slavery on Black people’s lives, what form of discrimination they faced, or how this slavery affected them generations after generations until our present day.

The struggle of Black people for decolonization is also denied in two ways. On one hand, later in the unit, the term ‘Black’ is used in the passive voice such as in the following two statements: “During the Civil War Blacks were emancipated (1863)” and “the fifteenth amendment gave Blacks the right to vote” (p. 140). Second, the unit uses the grand narrative approach to highlight the effort of non-slaves rather than Black people in the abolition of slavery: Here is some evidence for this observation:

1. “Western Europe gradually replaced slavery with serfdom” (p. 118).
2. “The Quakers, basing their beliefs on New Testament morality, argued that everyone regardless of background and status was equal in God’s eyes. They made the earliest systematic attempts at eliminating slavery through legislation” (p. 118).
3. “The American antislavery movement resulted in great hostility between the anti-slavery North and the pro-slavery South which culminated in a civil war” (p. 118).
4. “The fifteenth amendment gave Blacks the right to vote” (p. 140).

In an activity that aims to raise awareness about slavery, the proper treatment of other human beings, and whether citizens should accept injustices or look for alternatives, the corresponding questions are more geared towards what justifies human behavior to accept slavery. For example, “What kind of rationalizations have to be developed to justify the treatment of people as slaves?” (Saskatchewan Ministry of Education, 1994, p. 117). As the content of the unit indicates, these rationalizations are positively determined in relation to

economic prosperity in particular historical contexts. This way of presenting mixed messages across the curriculum might create confusion, hamper the emancipation of students' agency, and impede their understanding of cosmopolitan human rights and global justice. This strategy is used throughout the curriculum.

Despite these weaknesses, this unit on human rights includes some good activities designed to raise the students' awareness of the infringement of human rights nationally and globally. Students are introduced to the role of the United Nations as a peacekeeper. In one of the activities, they are required to examine certain historical events from the human rights perspectives. These events include World War II, "the evacuation of the Japanese in Canada" (p. 135), and the Nuremberg Trials. In another activity, the students are to consider reflecting on human rights in the context of everyday activities such as how to treat someone who wants to quit smoking or is caught shoplifting.

However, the role of the UN is presented in a broad context. It is not critically examined in relation to power dynamics among powerful nations. For example, the students are asked to participate in an activity to learn about the veto power of the five-nation security council as a legitimate and permanent status quo of democratic deliberation. There is no discussion of how this veto system has hindered the implementation of many UN resolutions regarding a number of conflicts globally.

Half way through this unit, the orientation in structure, wording, and content of the unit somehow shifts. Speculation leads me to consider that this might be the result of a different curriculum developer with a more progressive political orientation. The second half of the curriculum points to major events that led to the abolition of slavery such as the Supreme Court decision regarding Plessy vs. Ferguson, 1896, and the civil rights movement led by Martin Luther King compared to the Black Muslims movement led by Malcolm X. However, the curriculum remains broad with no specific details of these events or their continued detrimental impacts on the lives of Black people socially, educationally, and politically that have lasted until our present time. It is glaring that the role of Whites in the treatment of Blacks is neglected. There are no specific examples about how Black people were treated on a daily basis in buses, in schools, or in the community and the impact of such treatment on their lives. Presenting these crucial issues as part of a past history detached from the present is again a hegemonic strategy. Slavery is a violation of cosmopolitan values. This unit violates the core tenet of

cosmopolitanism, which entails that all human beings are legitimate for equal moral worth irrespective of race, culture, ethnicity, sexual orientation, and any other dichotomies of difference (Van Hooft, 2009). Cosmopolitanism rejects any form of exploitation, discrimination, or injustices in the world.

Further, human rights issues related to children's rights, women rights, gay and lesbian rights, prisoners' rights, economic rights, and Aboriginal rights are placed at the end of the unit. In one activity, they are to be considered by students from the perspectives of broad and complex concepts such as Christianity, feminism, Amnesty International, capitalism, Islam, and traditional Aboriginal groups (Saskatchewan Ministry of Education, 1994, p. 149). In another activity on the rights of women, students are to consider the perspectives of different nations such as Britain, Sweden, United States, Canada, and the Soviet Union. The unit discusses human rights in relation to past ideologies such as fascism, Nazism, and communism, as well as Lenin's Bolshevik paradigm and Gandhi's Satyagraha philosophy. I argue that this is a convoluted way of teaching human rights that can create misconceptions, controversies, and ambiguity that work to deter the understanding of human rights; taking into consideration the allocated time to teach each unit, I assume that it is difficult to adequately explore all these complex concepts, political ideologies, and various national orientations within the allocated time. Some of the activities, however, do intersect with cosmopolitan education. These include an activity that requires students to examine how children in different countries are treated from the perspective of human rights, as illustrated in the report on *State of the World's Children 1994*.

Minimal Attention to Women's Rights

For the most part, the curriculum skims over issues related to women's rights. In other units, women's rights are completely ignored. For example, in Grade 11, Unit 4, women are briefly mentioned as a group that has to cope with poverty. In Grade 10, Unit 2, the conception of the role of women is not introduced in terms of rights, but as a potential to contribute to the shortage of labor in Japan and subsequently to its economy. Thus, the discussion of the traditional treatment of Japanese women is embedded within capitalist thinking rather than in social justice and equality. In Grade 10, Unit 3 the rights of women are addressed at the end of the lesson in a broad way that lacks specificity and arguments. The lesson consists of listing four basic feminist perspectives in short statements, listing five contributions of the feminist movement to social policy, and a few broad statements about feminism. The corresponding

activity is embedded in the concept of power in which students are divided in different groups to simulate the Government in the House, the Opposition, and the caucuses in decision-making. The implied message is that ordinary women are not to be involved in decision-making processes.

Glimpses of Cosmopolitan Education

In contrast, Grade 11, Unit 5 as a whole (content and wording) takes a different approach than the ones mentioned above. For example, Grade 11, Unit 5 entitled *World Governance* intersects with cosmopolitan education in many ways. While it highlights the global interrelatedness and interdependence socially, culturally, politically, economically, environmentally, military, and technologically, it emphasizes the need to maintain social stability within nations and among nations without resorting to war. War is socially constructed and not innate, the unit suggests. Therefore, it can be rejected and replaced by peaceful alternatives. Thus, students are encouraged to find alternatives to war in conflict resolutions such as negotiations or resort to the United Nations (UN) that was created in the aftermath of World War II. The role of the UN is reinforced as an international form of governance to manage international conflicts peacefully and to lay the foundations for international cooperation in economic, social, and cultural matters. Here the curriculum raises the issue whether decision-making and power endowed to the UN should override the power and decision making of sovereign states, a contested issue in political cosmopolitanism discussed since Kant introduced his notion of “a global federation of states” (Warf, 2012, p. 287). In addition, the unit also asks on what basis power should be distributed within such an institution: on cultural divisions, economic power, military and political power, population size, or nation states? This is also a complex and contested question regarding global governance discussed in the literature on political cosmopolitanism (Archibugi, 2010; Held 2010; Pogge, 1992; Warf, 2012). To address it critically, the unit encourages students to examine how realities of power, conflicting cultural values, scarcity, and social status prevent or create obstacles in achieving solutions to world problems. Grade 11, Unit 5 Unit also refers to history to provide more evidence that there are alternatives to war. For example, following World War II, the Nuremberg principles were created to determine what is considered crimes against humanity, war crimes, or crimes against peace to deter countries from committing such crimes (Saskatchewan Ministry of Education, 1994, p. 526).

A significant cosmopolitan orientation is taken in this unit when it discusses the benefits of these alternatives to war. These benefits include reallocation of resources in a more productive way as exemplified in the corresponding activity. In this activity, students are asked to research the global military expenditures of a number of states in comparison to expenditures in various fields such as welfare, health care, education, and child care (Saskatchewan Ministry of Education, 1994, p. 519). In this case, the unit promotes the concept of opportunity cost that seeks to ensure the efficient use of resources by quoting President Eisenhower who states that:

Every gun that is fired, every warship launched, every rocket fired signifies in the final sense, a theft from those who hunger [sic] and are not fed, those who are cold and are not clothed. ... The world in arms is not spending money alone. It is spending the sweat of its labourers, the genius of its scientists, the hopes of its children. (Saskatchewan Ministry of Education, 1994, p. 522)

Further, Grade 11, Unit 5 raises the issue of disparity in wealth by calling on both the wealthy nations and the less wealthy to examine their responsibility to reduce this disparity. It encourages the search for a balance in seeking to advance the economy and protect the environment. It encourages constructive decisions for the establishment of a just world and the promotion of human rights globally. Equally important, it raises the issue of whether the world needs a unified world government. Despite the fact that discussing these issues remains broad in this unit, I reiterate that there is a significant shift in its orientation towards cosmopolitanism and away from capitalism, denial of colonialism, and racism that are prevalent in other units.

In sum, the social studies curriculum for grades 10 and 11 diverge significantly from a cosmopolitan curriculum. It fails to foster moral responsibilities, affiliations, and obligations towards Others. It negates the importance of cultural exchanges and interconnections that play a significant role in shaping our increasingly diverse world today. It seeks to indoctrinate students in the neoliberal and neoconservative ideologies rather than endorsing a social justice approach. Thus, the principles of cosmopolitan education such as historicity, relationality, criticality, and reflexivity, as described in Chapter Two, are omitted.

Analysis of the Revised Grade 9 Social Studies (2009)

The grade 9 social studies curriculum was revised in 2009. The entire curriculum document consists of 31 pages. It lists the Broad Areas of Learning, Cross-Cultural

Competencies, Aims and Goals of Social Studies, and Outcomes and Indicators along with other issues in teaching social studies. First, I will analyze notions in the Broad Areas of Learning, Cross-Cultural Competencies, and issues in teaching social studies. Then I will analyze the outcomes and indicators.

Analysis of Broad Areas of Learning, Cross-Cultural Competencies, and Principles of Teaching and Learning

While the curriculum encourages the teaching of controversial issues, it cautions teachers against it as such: “This does not suggest, however, that any belief is as good as any other belief. Canadian society does not accept that premise, and that impression should not be given to students” (Saskatchewan Ministry of Education, 2009, p. 11). This vague cautionary note as part of the general guidelines for teaching social studies across the grades can be interpreted in many ways in terms of the hidden curriculum. For example, who decides what is a good belief? What beliefs do teachers assume are not as good as other ones? Is believing in White supremacy a good belief? It seems that some teachers do believe in White supremacy, as you will see in Chapter Five. What beliefs are marginalized and silenced? Is the teaching of sexual orientation to be avoided?

The social studies curriculum states that it endorses multicultural education and provides teachers with a list of recommendations drawn from Multicultural Education and Heritage Language Education Policies. On one hand, this list is commendable for teaching multiculturalism. On the other, the multicultural feature of the curriculum treats culture as an independent entity rather than a product of interconnected and interdependent relationships. In this view, culture is defined as one of many elements that shape the individual identity. From a cosmopolitan perspective, culture is dynamic, constantly evolving, and consists of a mixture of elements.

Upon the first reading, the emphasis of grade 9 social studies on cross-curricular competencies appears to intersect with several features of cosmopolitanism. However, they are also vague. There are four cross-cultural competencies in this curriculum. These are “developing thinking,” “developing identity and interdependence,” “developing literacies,” and “developing social responsibility” (Saskatchewan Ministry of Education, 2009, pp. 3-9). However, the competencies “developing thinking” critically, contextually, and creatively in solving problems and making decisions and “developing literacies” can be applied to any concept, be it

authoritarian, conservative, or democratic, for example. The competency “developing social responsibility” has a cosmopolitan orientation. It emphasizes the fostering of respect and active responsibility for the well-being of all human beings, development of appreciation of human diversity and connectedness, and engagement in critical understanding of one’s own perspectives as well as the perspectives of others. This competency encourages students to become aware of and vocal against discrimination (Saskatchewan Ministry of Education, 2009, pp. 5-6). The competency “developing social responsibility” is also echoed in one of the goals of the Broad Areas of Learning entitled *Building Engaged Citizens* (p. 3). On the positive side, this goal seems to be cosmopolitan in orientation as it emphasizes “respect for democratic ideals such as justice and equality, and appreciation of the rights, privileges, and responsibilities of citizenship” (p. 3). The analysis of the outcomes and indicators discussed below demonstrate to what extent they support these goals.

In addition, the competency “developing identity and interdependence” has a cosmopolitan dimension. Here identity is not limited to a single entity. Identity is comprised of several elements including religion, gender identity, language, ethnicity, and personal identifications. This converges with cosmopolitanism as it posits that identity is dynamic and comprised of many variables. When put together, these competencies provide students with the ability to value the self and human diversity, become aware of interdependence among groups and communities, and cultivate a concern and respect for the environment and an understanding of environmental sustainability. While these stated competencies are praiseworthy, it remains questionable how they are implemented practically in the classroom in relation to the outdated curriculum as well as the revised grade 9 social studies. This concern is addressed below.

The worldview component of grade 9 social studies is broad and can be subject to teachers’ biases and preferences. The curriculum states that students will examine various worldviews and their related moral, intellectual, political, economic, and social beliefs and values (Saskatchewan Ministry of Education, 2009, p. 14). As Case and Abbott (2008) argue, the directions “don’t eliminate all the possibilities” (p. 20). I question how a cosmopolitan worldview can emerge from such an investigation? What worldviews are in the forefront and which ones are marginalized or dismissed? How are these worldviews taught? As noted above, the Indigenous worldview was marginalized and stereotyped while the immigrants’ worldviews are dismissed in grades 10 to 11 social studies. How can we guarantee that these guidelines for

worldviews in grade 9 will not subtly reinforce neoliberalism, neoconservatism, meritocracy, classism, and other forms of –ism? Therefore, there is a need for more specificity in describing these features of the social studies curriculum.

Analysis of Outcomes and Indicators

As mentioned above, the official rationale for the Saskatchewan Social Studies curriculum is to foster “active participants and citizens in an inclusive, culturally diverse, interdependent world” (Saskatchewan Ministry of Education, 2010, p. 28). This rationale is organized around 4 goals/outcomes of K-12 Social Studies curriculum as stated in the revised grade 9 social studies curriculum (2009, p. 6). These are:

1. Interactions and interdependence of people and cultures (IN): “examine the local, indigenous, and global interactions and interdependence of individuals, societies, cultures, and nations.”
2. Dynamic relationships (DR): “analyze the dynamic relationships of people with land, environments, events, and ideas as they have affected the past, shape the present, and influence the future.”
3. Power and authority (PA): “investigate the processes and structures of power and authority, and the implications for individuals, communities, and nations.”
4. Resources and wealth (RW): “examine various worldviews about the use and distribution of resources and wealth in relation to the needs of individuals, communities, nations, and the natural environment, and contribute to sustainable environment.”

These general outcomes and their relevant cluster indicators consist of seven pages of the curriculum. The curriculum provides also a list of resources to support the teaching of these outcomes and indicators. It remains unclear to what extent teachers refer to these resources and what they pick and choose from them. The following analysis seeks to unpack what is in these seven pages.

First, the wording and themes of these goals indicate a significant shift in comparison to the wording and content of the grades 10 to 11 curriculum. While the grades 10 to 11 curriculum is prescriptive as most of the statements start with the stem “know that,” the grade 9 curriculum assumes a critical orientation as evident in the use of the verbs “examine,” “analyze,” “investigate,” “relate,” “judge,” “connect,” “explain” and the like to define the goals, outcomes,

and indicators (pp. 19-25). Criticality is a core element of cosmopolitan education and seems to intersect here with the grade 9 social studies curriculum. Emphasis on criticality is fundamental to the development of open-mindedness, sensitivity, and respect for differing worldviews. The curriculum states that criticality enables the understanding of the self, society, complexity of communities and cultures (pp. 2-3).

Nevertheless, I find that the grade 9 social studies is restrictive in the use of criticality for the following reasons: The first goal stated above *seems* to highlight the importance of examining interconnectedness and interdependence of relationships at various levels locally nationally, and globally rather than in isolation. This goal appears cosmopolitan in orientation. However, under closer examination, it is not. A closer look at the indicators for this goal, as well as the other ones, shows there is a broadness that allows for multiple interpretations and misinterpretations of the outcomes and indicators; this general goal does not tell teachers the reason for teaching these outcomes and does not “eliminate all possibilities” (Case & Abbott, 2008, p. 20). “Are we to promote ethical appreciation of the historical implications or develop understanding of current responses to globalization?” (p. 20). Are we to promote neoliberalism or multiculturalism? Consequently, teachers may tend to address these goals differently based on their personal ideology, be it conservative, liberal, social democrat, or socialist. The corresponding educational practice could include skimming over oppression, omitting issues related to minority groups and immigration, downplaying colonialism, ignoring decolonization, and avoiding the de-contextualization of the dynamics of power and ideology, as used in critical pedagogy. Apple (2004) asserts that this teaching of criticality in social studies “can actually depoliticize the study of social life” (p. 6). He states,

We ask our students to see knowledge as a social construction, in the more disciplinary programs to see how sociologists, historians, anthropologists and others construct their theories and concepts. Yet, in so doing we do not enable them to inquire as to *why* a particular form of social collectivity exists, *how* it is maintained and *who* benefits from it....What one is ‘critically reflecting’ about is often vacuous, ahistorical, one sided, and ideologically laden. (p. 6)

In contrast, a cosmopolitan curriculum emphasizes reflexivity, historicity, relationality, and criticality (Saito, 2010; Rizvi, 2009). The following seeks to elaborate on this argument in relation to the formal curriculum.

First, the corresponding outcomes and indicators of the first goal “Interactions and Interdependence Between People and Cultures” (IN) place emphasis on examining various worldviews of ancient societies to identify similarities and differences at the community level. This consists of institutions such as churches, Elders, schools, local governments, and parents and the roles of individuals such as teachers, doctors, nurses, receptionists, patients, and the like (Saskatchewan Ministry of Education, 2009, p. 19). The emphasis is also on the impact of worldviews on the future of these societies in a historically linear approach. Some of the suggested similarities and differences to be explored consist of identifying how a worldview affects one’s preference for fashion, interaction with friends, choice of recreational activities, interaction with nature, understanding of the importance of the role of education, and consumerism. As noted earlier, the social justice approach and its elements are not explored in these societies. The societies studied include “at least one historical indigenous society of North America, as well as Mesopotamia or Ancient Egypt; Ancient Greece or Rome; Aztec, Incan, or Mayan civilizations; Medieval Europe or Renaissance Europe; Ancient China or Japan” (Saskatchewan Ministry of Education, 2009, p. 9). The students are asked to compare these ancient societies to contemporary Canada. Here we notice that there is no crisscross cultural and social interaction and influence among these societies with contemporary Canadian society. The context of a pluralistic society or contemporary global society is not acknowledged in any way in these indicators.

The question arises as to why students need to learn about these ancient civilizations. Case and Abbott (2008) notice that the curriculum does not tell us why a particular goal needs to be further advanced (p. 20). Does the study of these societies help us to understand Canadian diversity today? These chosen societies are distant in time, place, cultural, economic, political, or religious perspectives. From such a strategy, students definitely accumulate knowledge about the roots of societies and civic behavior. Yet, this knowledge can be void of empathy towards historically marginalized and oppressed people whose descendants are part of our society today. It might also be weak in fostering active citizens and empowering them to change the status quo, uncover injustices, and seek peaceful interrelated and interdependent relationships across boundaries in our interconnected world.

Problems such as systemic poverty, social and global injustices and inequalities, oppression, discrimination, power, privilege, and racism are ignored. It is up to the teachers to

address them when analyzing a particular society. When students are asked to examine their worldview in their contemporary society, the issues and problems suggested are the following: affordable housing, post-secondary education, making friends, designer clothing, violence, drinking and driving, and healthy diet (Saskatchewan Ministry of Education, 2009, p. 20). I argue that the roots of Canadian society that have shaped contemporary Canada are the struggles that Canadians (Aboriginal peoples, the French, and the British that are the three founding nations, and immigrant groups) have faced, the relationships that they have developed across the years, the boundaries they have permeated, and the historical progress they have made that has shaped contemporary Canadian society. I maintain that Social Studies 9 would better serve the students when it provides them with specific historical cases rather than broad and open ones. The former cases include the residential schools, the potlatch ban, the Chinese Head Tax, the Internment of Japanese Canadians, the multiculturalism Act (1988), and the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms (1982). In addition, Case and Abbott (2008) ask, what are the reasons for learning about particular issues? Is it for fostering moral conduct, social and global? Is it to participate in a successful capitalist endeavor? Are we achieving a meaningful and engaging learning that will promote broadmindedness, respect for others, or nationalistic and particularistic sentiments? These are important educational questions to consider.

Erasing the history of oppression and resistance. While issues related to immigration, minority groups, and Quebec's claim for sovereignty are not explored as part of the "local, indigenous, and global interactions and interdependence of individuals, societies, cultures, and nations" (p. 19), the case of First Nations is presented broadly without necessitating a commitment to genuinely engage with their historical struggles against colonialism and its discriminatory forms. Nor is it inviting to listen to their historical narratives synchronically and diachronically, as Papastephanou (2002) suggests. It depends upon teachers to sift through the resources and decide how and what to teach. This is not an argument against teachers' autonomy and professionalism in favor of a prescribed curriculum. To elaborate on this argument, I will first list the indicators across the four goals that are related to Indigenous peoples. These are

- "Apply the definition of society to one of the civilizations studied, and detail ways in which the civilization meets the criteria to be considered a society (e.g., How can Mesopotamia be called a society according to the formulated definition? Would

aboriginal groupings of the plains and woodlands in North America meet the criteria?)” (p. 19).

- “Analyse [sic] the influence of worldviews upon attitudes toward territorial expansion, colonization, or empire-building in the societies studied, and assess the impact of such activities on the indigenous cultures and peoples” (p. 19).
- “Explain how the worldview of Canadian First Nations, including the value placed on harmony and trust, led to the signing of Treaties” (p. 21).
- “Analyse [sic] the effects of ethnocentrism on indigenous peoples” (p. 19).
- “Conduct an inquiry regarding the initial interaction of North American Aboriginal peoples with Europeans, comparing the worldviews of the two” (p. 23).
- “Analyze the impact of knowledge acquired from historical events on the future of contemporary societies (e.g., the decline of the Roman Empire; the attempted annihilation of indigenous cultures and languages, the power of the church; ethnocentrism; the concentration of power in the organization of larger corporations; the contribution of indigenous peoples to the survival of newcomers at the time of contact, and the willingness to share the bounty and abundance of the land, sometimes through sophisticated arrangements known as Treaties)” (p. 22).

It is important to acknowledge that there is a significant shift from the wording and content of the outdated grades 10 to 11 curriculum. Indigenous peoples are no longer stereotyped as ‘primitive’ cultures that ‘could not cope with the modern world.’ Unlike the grades 10 to 11 social studies, Social Studies 9 acknowledges the colonization of Indigenous peoples. However, there are several weaknesses in these indicators.

First, there are two trends depicted in these indicators: one places the context of the criteria of a society and the imperialism and colonization of Aboriginal peoples in ancient history, a distant history in place and time. In contrast, a genuine cosmopolitan approach to the issue of Aboriginal peoples in North America suggests that students are asked to search historical events and their consequences regarding the relationships between Aboriginal peoples and the European settlers. Their research should take into consideration the repercussions on the wellbeing of Aboriginal peoples socially, culturally, educationally, economically, and politically from the time these historical events took place, and the corresponding subsequent developments (oppression and resistance) into our contemporary Canadian society. Examples of these historical

events are the residential school system, and the context of the enactment of the Indian Act 1876 and its subsequent amendments. These include the ban of the traditional Potlatch ceremony of the West Coast peoples, the ban of the Sun Dance in the prairies, and gender discrimination against Aboriginal women. Current issues that need to be addressed include employment inequity affecting Aboriginal youths and the achievement gap between non-Aboriginal and Aboriginal youths. There is a need for more specificity in the curriculum, but where specificity does not mean prescription.

In addition, *The Power and Authority* goal of Social Studies 9 lacks specificity and criticality of the dynamics of power and ideology. Students will learn about the various systems of government such as autocracy, democracy, monarchy, military regime, and consensus (p. 23). Indicators for this goal are so broad and vague that it is difficult to envisage how the teachers, progressive or conservative, will approach them. Though some indicators address the impact of imperialism, oppression of rights, and citizenship, others are so open that again, it is difficult to determine whether they will engender moral responsiveness and empathy, let alone cosmopolitanism. Here are some examples of these indicators:

- “Differentiate the criteria for citizenship in the societies studied with that in contemporary Canadian society” (p. 24).
- “Compile an inventory of the diverse roles and responsibilities of people within the societies studied, according to various classifications (e.g., gender, age, vocation, social class)” (p. 24).

In the first indicator, the concept of citizenship is not clearly defined to students although scholars interested in social studies struggle to grasp the complexity of this concept. The following quote reflects the complexity of this concept:

Citizenship is a notoriously vague word that means different things to different people. Its specific meaning takes its shape from the particular political and institutional context in which it is located. To some, it indicates ideological indoctrination, the preparation of loyal servants of whatever regime is in power. To others, it means instilling the disposition to abide by and to help preserve the status quo. In Canada, for example, it was the justification for sending aboriginal children to residential schools and for curtailing the linguistic and other rights of minorities. (Osborne, 2008, p. 3)

The second indicator is broadly stated and ignores both the power dynamics and the ideological bias embedded in these roles and responsibilities. In other words, the indicator normalizes roles and responsibilities in a particular society according to the various classifications mentioned above. Further, this emphasis on classifying roles and responsibilities of people based on social class, gender, and age appears to be a subtle endorsement of a neoconservative discourse that favors hierarchical classifications among people. From a cosmopolitan perspective, a progressive teacher able to engage students in critical analyses to deconstruct hegemonic discourses of these roles is necessary.

Similarly, *the Resources and Wealth* goal and its corresponding indicators are broad and more oriented towards examining how trade and technology contribute to the prosperity of society. Neoliberalism is again endorsed. Distribution of resources and wealth and their impact on the populations are explored in the context of ancient societies first, and then technological modern ones. This strategy masks global inequalities in the distribution of wealth on individuals, communities, and nations and the resulting persistence of poverty. It also ignores discussing the responsibilities of the rich towards the developing world. The cosmopolitan responsibilities and obligations towards people who suffer disasters, poverty, or exploitations are not suggested here. Responsibilities to end child labor by boycotting particular products are not suggested. As Orlowski (2011) argues, “both inclusion and exclusion [in the curriculum] are hegemonic strategies” (p. 38) indicative of a “subtle institutional racism” (p. 79).

Analysis of the Grade 12 Social Studies Curriculum (1997)

Part of the grade 12 social studies curriculum (Saskatchewan Ministry of Education, 1997) shows a significant shift in its educational approach from the grades 10 to 11 social studies. To a certain extent, it exhibits the educational philosophy of contemporary Canadians, scholars, educators, curriculum developers, and policy makers. This curriculum has also a better approach in discussing issues related to the realities of Canadian society and the interactions and interdependence between its founding nations and its immigrant groups than the revised grade 9 curriculum. However, the curriculum remains faithful to neoliberalism, as evidenced in three of its five units. To avoid repetition, I will only highlight new themes in the Grade 12 curriculum.

Recognition of Injustices against Aboriginal Peoples

Grade 12, Unit 3 entitled *Culture* examines the effects of acculturation policy in Canada particularly on Aboriginal peoples. It recognizes the various forms of injustices committed by Canadian society against them. In one activity, students are asked to consider a situation in which Canada has been invaded by a superior power. The students are to discuss if this power has the moral obligation to respect those who had lived in that country for a long time. Based on this context, students are to reflect on the Treaty negotiation between the Canadian government and Aboriginal peoples. This activity raises the question of whether the terms of these Treaties were vague and contested by one of the parties, and if so, how should this disagreement be solved. Here the curriculum offers possibilities to engage in Treaty education that seeks to raise historical consciousness in students and ethically commit them to decolonize dominant narratives of past injustices. Treaty education also fosters an understanding of “their dispositions as Canadian citizens, and their relationships with one another” (Tupper, 2012, p. 147) by disrupting “epistemologies of ignorance” that aim to perpetuate and maintain a colonial mindset (Tupper, 2014, p. 469). This justice-oriented approach in Treaty education is in alignment with the principles of cosmopolitan education. This educational approach to the Treaties in the curriculum is virtually ignored in the outdated social studies 10 and 11 curricula and superficially addressed in Social Studies 9.

Representation of the Realities of Canadian Society: The Three Founding Nations and Immigrant Groups

As noted above, the Saskatchewan’s Social Studies grades 10 to 11 curriculum stereotypes Aboriginal peoples as primitive and unable to cope with the economic advancement of society, a depiction used to justify their economic plights and social ills today. The outdated curriculum juxtaposes and compares the struggles of Aboriginal peoples, not against Canadian colonialism, but against distant countries such as Japan, and Nigeria. We have also seen a similar subtle strategy in the revised Social Studies 9. Also in these three curricula, there is a noticeable erasure of the existence of immigrant groups, their struggles and contributions to Canada. French Quebecers were also eliminated. However, Units 3 and 5 of grade 12 social studies curriculum are by far a significant attempt to represent the reality of Canada as made up of the three founding nations (Aboriginal peoples, British Canadians, and French Canadians) and immigrant groups who struggle across centuries to create what is today known as the Canadian identity. For

example, Unit 3 raises the issue regarding the moral consequences that emanate from past injustices such as the reserve system, the attempt to annihilate Aboriginal peoples by sending them “Smallpox infected towels,” and the rationalization of the superiority of particular groups and the inferiority of others (Ministry of Education, 1997, p. 330).

Unit 3 also includes various activities that consider historical case studies and their destructive effects on the lives of those affected. For example, regarding attempts to annihilate others, one historical case mentioned is the Durham’s Report in 1839, which aimed to assimilate French Canadians. It also mentions the Cypress Hills massacre of 1873, the residential school system, and genocide of the Boethuk people of Newfoundland (p. 333). Regarding cultural segregation by mainstream Canadian society, the historical cases mentioned are the Hutterites, First Nations reserves, the internment of Japanese people during Second World War, Quebec separatist movements, and immigration policies related to Sikhs, Jews, and Chinese people (p. 335). The unit does not only address historical injustices in Canada, but also global injustices such as the apartheid system in South Africa and Nazism in Germany.

The cosmopolitan approach in this unit lies not only in recognizing these injustices nationally and globally, but also in supporting moral attempts to redress them. Nationally, these include the enactment of Saskatchewan’s Multicultural Act in 1974, federal open immigration policies, and the 1982 Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms (Saskatchewan Ministry of Education, 1997, p. 339). Globally, these include the contribution of Martin Luther King to the Civil Rights Movement of the United States and Nelson Mandela’s contribution to the anti-apartheid revolution in South Africa (Saskatchewan Ministry of Education, 1997, p. 329). This unit implies that every individual has an equal and moral worth that should be respected. If it were up to me, I would transfer the revised goal in grade 9 *Interaction and Interdependence*, which seeks “to examine the local, Indigenous, and global interactions and interdependence of individuals, societies, cultures, and nations” (p. 19) and assign it to Grade 12, Unit 3 in order to give it a cosmopolitan dimension.

Glimpses of Cosmopolitan Education

This curriculum already highlights Canada’s international role as embedded in its international relations with various organizations. This includes Canada’s role as a mediator for peace, and as a supplier of foreign aid. Accordingly, the unit repeatedly raises moral questions regarding how sovereign states or wealthy nations can balance their international responsibility

against their self-interests; how Canada can contribute to the reduction of global poverty, and how the international community should address violations of human rights, other conflicts, or atrocities committed by some nations. These concerns are cosmopolitan. It remains up to the individual teacher to interpret how they should be taught.

Unit 5 also emphasizes Canada's peaceful approach towards international relations. For example, it refers to Lester Pearson's contribution to the establishment of the United Nations (p. Saskatchewan Ministry of Education, 1997, p. 518). It states that "Canada gained a reputation of being an 'honest broker' who could deal with situations where neither of the great powers could be trusted or accepted" (p. 520). It highlights that Canada's foreign policy in the 1960s, 1970s and 1980s aimed at balancing its defense policy with the cooperation of the international community to maintain world peace and reduce tensions among world super-powers.

Further, Unit 5 points to the existence of international government organizations (IGOs) such as NATO, Interpol, and GATT and non-governmental organizations (NGOs) such as Greenpeace, the Red Cross, and Amnesty International (Saskatchewan Ministry of Education, 1997, p. 540). But again, it skims over the conditions that led to their creation, the interplay of power in the decision making of these organizations, and the funding issues that have significant effects on the carrying out of their operations. However, the corresponding activity is cosmopolitan in orientation. First, teachers are required to introduce students to individuals who had positive influence on global issues. Nonetheless, students are to consider specific international cases in the 1990s that needed international intervention by ordinary people as well as international organizations. These include the boycotting of carpets produced by indentured children, international protests to protect the environment, the campaigns to protect the rights of workers, and the like. With the addition of current issues and a focus on particular geo-political regions, this activity intersects with cosmopolitan education.

Final Thoughts

In conclusion, the analysis of the curriculum is closely aligned with the arguments of Joshee (2007, 2009) and Pashby et al. (2014) that state neoliberal and neoconservative ideologies are dominant while the social justice approach to education is, for the most part, ignored in Canada. As Pashby et al. (2014) argue, "there is a silencing of more progressive ideals of engaging with difference and committing to social action policies formerly present in educational

policy” (p. 4). There is an obvious pattern of erasure of cultural diversity across the curriculum (except in grade 12 social studies) despite the fact that Canada prides itself on its multicultural society and endorsement of multiculturalism in its Constitution, and in its social and educational documents and policies. Where the curriculum hints at minority groups, it is to construct and perpetuate stereotypes that threaten Canadian social cohesion.

Further, the First Nations content in grade 9 social studies curriculum masks colonialism and its impact on the present situation of Aboriginal peoples in a sophisticated manner that washes away any current Aboriginal struggle, whether it is economic, educational, political, or social. Also, I have demonstrated that “cultural practices and belief systems associated with Aboriginal heritage are often ignored or undermined” (Schissel & Wotherspoon, 2003, p. 2) across the grades 9 to 12 in social studies. Therefore, a revised social studies curriculum should attempt “to challenge epistemologies of ignorance that often shape relationships with Aboriginal peoples” by concealing and reinforcing colonialism and construct an image of peaceful encounters between settlers and Aboriginal peoples (Tupper, 2014, p. 469). Another aspect that should shape a revised curriculum is the disruption of what Bourdieu (1979) calls “symbolic violence” which is wielded by the power of a dominant group over a marginalized one through systems of knowledge that construct hierarchies (as cited in Tupper, 2014, p. 475). These hierarchies, despite their detrimental impacts on the marginalized, become accepted as the hegemonic norm by both marginalized and dominant groups. The analysis of the social studies curriculum in Saskatchewan shows traces of symbolic violence in the construction of knowledge. Despite sporadic intersections, this chapter illuminates a significant gap between this curriculum and a cosmopolitan education. If the purpose of the social studies is to cultivate a positive transformation towards a social cohesion based on inclusivity, respect for human rights, reconciliatory cross-cultural encounters, social and global equality and justice, and respect for moral worth of every human being, then a radical shift in ideological perspective is required.

I have already pointed out occasional activities that incorporate some features of cosmopolitan education. I refer to these features as glimpses of cosmopolitanism because they are only significant when embedded in a genuine cosmopolitan curriculum in content, structure, and wording. They do not only lose validity when they are occasionally referred to in a curriculum that embraces concepts such as hierarchy, meritocracy, colonialism, imperialism, capitalism, and utilitarianism; their insertion is suspicious as a hegemonic strategy to mask the

real intent of education. These cosmopolitan ideas are only effective if the teachers are prepared to properly address them. This will be explored in the next chapter.

CHAPTER V: Emergent Themes in the Thinking of Social Studies Teachers in Saskatchewan High Schools

Good teachers possess a clear vision of education and of what it will do for their students. They are not simply technicians who take the prescribed curriculum, or the textbook, and work their students with it. They incorporate the curriculum into their philosophy of education.

(Osborne, 1991, p. 119)

This chapter is an analysis of interviews with five Saskatchewan teachers of the social studies curriculum. Interviews are the second source of data for this research that explores the extent to which cosmopolitan concepts are taught in social studies. The first source of data was the grades 9 to 12 social studies curriculum in Saskatchewan high schools analyzed in the previous chapter. It is useful at this point to revisit the purpose of this qualitative study. This study aims to describe the extent of integration and reflection of a cosmopolitan orientation in the social studies classrooms in grades 9 to 12 in Saskatchewan high schools. The thinking of high school social studies teachers is an important contribution to this research project as it reflects how these teachers interpret the curriculum and its potential to shape the students' interconnected relationships in a diverse world. As noted in Chapter Three on methodology, I use the review of literature on cosmopolitanism as a conceptual framework and critical discourse analysis as a methodology for this analysis. Discourse analysis of the interviews of high school teachers will be minimal in terms of linguistic analysis. The focus is on interpretation, argumentation, explanation, and formation of themes that will be supported by the literature review. I will provide details about the activities of participant-teachers as these can guide future curriculum developers. Simultaneously, I will draw out the larger discourses that are evident in the participants' talk.

Several themes emerged from the interviews with the five social studies teachers in Saskatchewan high schools. These themes are:

1. Teachers' unfamiliarity with the concept of cosmopolitanism
2. Social studies as tangent conversations in other classes
3. Teachers' perspectives about the social studies curricula in Saskatchewan high schools

4. Pockets of conservative communities/racism in Saskatchewan against First Nations, immigrants, and non-heterosexual individuals
5. Teachers' dismantling the dominant narrative against First Nations
6. Caught in-between: White supremacy and openness to diversity
7. Minimal attention to women's rights and the gay rights movement
8. Varied attention to the teaching of multiculturalism
9. Orientation towards global citizenship
10. Teaching about human rights
11. Teaching about poverty.
12. Teachers' perspectives on Canadian values, identity, and culture

Theme 1: Teachers' Unfamiliarity with the Concept of Cosmopolitanism

As cosmopolitanism is a new concept, it was expected that most teachers would not be familiar with its theoretical components but with a broad idea of its meaning. For instance, Chris stated:

I don't want to equate it too much with the notion of globalism. But I think cosmopolitanism has a lot to do with people having a greater understanding and respect to varying cultures and cultural practices that exist around the world.... That's the type of cultural literacy that comes to mind when I hear that notion. (interview, December 16, 2015)

Annie understood cosmopolitanism as "a concept of creating community with like-minded individuals or with people that share a similar value structure" (interview, December 14, 2015). It appeared that Sheldon hazarded a guess with his reply:

I think that sort of means like a rich vibrant sort of city, does it not? Because when I look at the word cosmopolitanism, I think of like sort of mosaic people coming together and living in harmony with each other. I could be well off the mark, but that's what I think it means. What does cosmopolitanism mean? (interview, December 8, 2015)

James and Albert associated cosmopolitanism with our responsibilities to make the world a better place by alleviating suffering and being aware of our action on others. Therefore, the questions were devised around issues related to cosmopolitanism in order to reveal whether the curriculum or the teaching of social studies reflects cosmopolitan features (See Appendix C). As the emergent themes below demonstrate, the interviewed teachers exhibited several

cosmopolitan sensibilities in their outlook and their teaching practice despite their unfamiliarity with the theoretical dynamics of this concept. This is due to the intersections of cosmopolitanism with various concepts such as multiculturalism, global citizenship, nationalism, human rights, and global and social justice.

Theme 2: Social Studies as Tangent Conversations in Other Classes

The social studies curriculum is contextualized as a background to other school curricula in Saskatchewan high schools. It is either directly taught or integrated with English in grade 9. It is infused with history in grades 10 to 12, which affected many of the responses of the teachers who reflected on how they have incorporated social studies themes such as human rights or global citizenship into their history lessons. For instance, conversations about human rights mostly “came up as a kind of a tangent conversation” such as when students were asked to evaluate the extent to which Canada is a democracy (Albert, interview, November 30, 2015). Chris pointed out that the social studies curriculum intersects with the history curriculum and he prefers to teach history from a social studies perspective. He suggested that the social studies curriculum can be combined with the history curriculum. Annie, who taught only Social Studies 9 integrated with English, stated that combining these two courses together works very well and becomes more meaningful for the students. Instead of having only one hour for social studies, she had two hours combined for both subjects, which helped her blend both subjects together and delve more deeply into the issues. These responses suggest that teachers were comfortable infusing social studies in their teaching subject, be it English or history.

Theme 3: Teachers’ Perspectives about the Social Studies Curriculum in Saskatchewan High Schools

While James saw the social studies 10 to 11 curriculum as both meaningful and valid, Albert asserted that this document is outdated and does not account for the complex issues we are facing today. It is prescriptive, “Eurocentric, extremely Eurocentric” in terms of wording and issues discussed (interview, November 30, 2015). It does not focus on Indigenous issues, women’s rights, gay rights, and multiculturalism. Albert’s perspective about the social studies curriculum indicates that the curriculum can be considered a form of “subtle institutional racism” (Orlowski, 2011, p. 79) whereby “both inclusion and exclusion are [used as] hegemonic strategies” (p. 38). Albert strongly objected to the fact that “Social Studies 30 curriculum doesn’t consider First Nations issues as human rights issues.” Rather, the curriculum frames these issues

in terms of past events despite the repercussions of that past continuing to persist today. Albert's observation here confirms the emergent theme in the previous chapter entitled *The Social Studies Curriculum in Distant Historical Past and Time*. Therefore, Albert said that he adapted the curriculum by "cherry picking" from the history, social studies, and Native studies curricula to outline his learning outcomes. Other teachers stated that they supplemented the curriculum. Sheldon pointed out that he used current events as a way to connect the curriculum with the students' daily lives rather than just teaching about "boring events" that took place about 150 years ago (interview, December 8, 2015). Sheldon found the outdated curriculum complicated and hard to follow. He praised the Social Studies 9 curriculum and found it simpler and "more streamlined" in relation to indicators and outcomes.

While the scholarly literature on social studies raises questions about its broadness, some teachers expressed their liking of the breadth of the revised Social Studies 9. For instance, Case and Abbott (2008) state: "general curriculum goals may sometimes suggest directions for our teaching, but they don't eliminate all the possibilities and often provide little help in understanding why we might want students to achieve this goal" (p. 20). I argue that some of the possibilities that may or may not be eliminated are the hegemonic discourses that subtly permeate the curriculum and are propagated by teachers depending on their positionality and political perspectives. It seems that Chris and Annie adopted progressive-oriented discourses in their interviews. Chris liked the revised Social Studies 9 because of the broadness of its categories and the scaffolding of the related subcategories. According to Chris, the curriculum allows for freedom in selecting cultural materials and freedom in incorporating their perspectives. As an example of the broadness of the categories, Chris read the following: "Determine the influence of worldview on the choices, decisions, and interactions in a society" (interview, December 16, 2015). Here, he claimed to engage students in examining their own worldview and its origin and researching an ancient culture such as Zulu, Aztecs, or the Incas to explore how this ancient culture influenced the daily activities of people.

Annie liked the breadth of the revised Social Studies 9 curriculum because it gave her freedom to incorporate important issues in her pedagogy. She stated that other teachers complained that there is nothing in it. She asserted that one can take any outcome, create activities for it, supplement it with resources, and turn it to a valuable lesson that interests her students. Annie's evaluation of the curriculum is, on one hand, focused on the teacher's ability

and commitment to supplement the curriculum and create activities that facilitate the achievement of a particular outcome. On the other hand, she explained that she can take a concept such as power and spend months generating a plethora of discussions. She can take a concept such as interdependence and dynamic relationships and interpret it in terms of engaged citizenship, adding, there is “a lot in it” (interview, December 14, 2015). For Annie, those big and complex concepts in Social Studies 9 are what she meant by “a lot.” She appears to teach about power and interdependence from critical pedagogy perspective, but this does not mean that other teachers, particularly novice teachers, can do the same with the current guidance of the curriculum. She mentioned that there is one major gap in this curriculum and that it lacks Indigenous knowledge, which she made up for in her teaching practice. What Annie saw as a major gap in the curriculum is actually a hegemonic strategy commonly used in education (Orlowski, 2011).

James stated that the revised Social Studies 9 is not different from the old curriculum in content. He said that the social studies curriculum has always focused on comparisons between modern society and First Nations society. According to James, the social studies curriculum has always considered the influence of a location on the evolution of a particular society. Only the language and the jargon have changed to reflect current academic usage. For example, the new curriculum replaces terms such as ‘influence’ and ‘connections’ with the phrase ‘dynamic relationships,’ ‘government’ and ‘systems of government’ with ‘power and authority’, and ‘goals’ with ‘outcomes’ (interview, December 5, 2015). Based on James’ perspective and my analysis of Saskatchewan’s social studies curriculum described in Chapter Four, it seems that social studies education in Saskatchewan is trapped in this traditional comparative framework whereby “the nature of this information remains relatively constant over time; and this information is best determined by a consensus of authorities and experts. From this perspective, diversity of experience and multiculturalism are downplayed, ignored, or actively challenged” (Ross, Mathison, & Vinson, 2014, p. 26). The previous chapter demonstrated that underlying ideologies such as neoconservatism and neoliberalism persist in shaping the revised curriculum and that it significantly diverts from a cosmopolitan curriculum. Interestingly, James strongly defends the curriculum as good, meaningful, and adequate.

Further, Albert maintains that “the curriculum in general skims the surface over everything that it does” and “it presents the world, as you know, here’s the way the world is”

(interview, November 30, 2015). The formal curriculum is not “a change agent,” Albert asserted. For example, he says that Social Studies 10 emphasizes economic and political issues without questioning why things are the way they are: “It just makes it seem like inevitable.” Albert confirmed the emergent theme related to the disempowering of students in the formal curriculum discussed in the previous chapter: He echoed Osborne’s (2008) previously stated argument regarding the authoritative narrative of nation-building in history textbooks that disempowers students. Osborne states: “the impression was created that, not only was this the way things happened, but also that they could have happened in no other way” with no opportunities to question the narratives (p. 5). Accordingly, Albert’s view of the curriculum points to the conservative discourse that emphasizes economic progress and strong identification with the nation rather than social justice (Joshee, 2009). Albert would prefer a curriculum that addresses issues critically by raising questions about whose voices are silenced and whose are privileged, and who benefits and who loses in particular issues. Albert’s emphasis on criticality and active agency of a particular curriculum is aligned with the views of cosmopolitan thinkers such as Rizvi (2009) and Saito (2010), as highlighted in Chapter Two.

Theme 4: Pockets of Conservative Communities/Racism in Saskatchewan against First Nations, Immigrants, and Non-Heterosexual Individuals

All teachers who were interviewed asserted that many people and communities in Saskatchewan are conservative, by which they meant that they are not open to diversity. They are racist against First Nations and immigrants from particular countries. The participants’ testimonies showed evidence of the pervasiveness of the conservative discourse in Saskatchewan. This discourse emphasizes the we/they dichotomy (Apple, 2006; Joshee, 2009). The conservative discourse perceives the Other as a threat to the dominant society. All participants explained how they sought teaching strategies to deconstruct this conservative discourse. Most of these strategies exhibited genuine effort to deconstruct racism and cultivate empathy, openness, and respect for other cultures. Some teaching approaches to deconstruct these perspectives were questionable; others were impressively cosmopolitan in orientation.

For example, Albert struggled once to teach openness and respect for gay rights and immigrant rights in a “very very conservative community... a very homophobic place, even within the school” (interview, November 30, 2015). Albert managed to build a culture of openness towards sexual orientation such that one of his students felt safe enough to come out as

a lesbian and also received the support of her classmates. However, Albert expressed his lack of confidence regarding whether he was able to build the same openness towards issues related to immigrants. Albert affirmed that there is xenophobia towards immigrants and First Nations, and particularly towards Muslims who are being stereotyped as terrorists after the emergence of ISIS. He went further to say:

There is way more violence carried out by people that look like me, but I don't have to take responsibility for that, whereas, you know, we expect Muslims to take responsibility for violence carried out by Muslims and that is just ridiculous, it is so hypocritical.

Chris felt that Saskatchewan is mostly conservative. In other words, he clarified that some people here are not welcoming of immigrants. He supported our government's decision regarding Syrian refugees. However, he and the other teachers said that the country of origin of newcomers and particularly their respective religion are factors in how welcome an immigrant is made to feel. In other words, a Western European or a Christian feels more welcomed than a Muslim person. Of course, this observation is obvious today in our society. It highlights one of the limitations to cosmopolitanism, which is the limit of cosmopolitan openness to others. Further, these testimonies are evidence that there is a need for a cosmopolitan orientation in government social and educational policies because, according to Ley (2007), Saskatoon is expected to welcome more immigrants. Cosmopolitanism endorses the right of refugees for hospitality as enshrined in the Declaration of Human Rights (Derrida, 1997/2001). Below are more testimonies about racism in Saskatchewan.

While describing the reaction of his students to the Paris bombing in 2015, James said that some students come from small conservative families and are considered "rednecks" by others (interview, December 5, 2015). These students constructed a link between the Paris bombing in 2015 and the September 11 attacks on the World Trade Center, a link that they consider as "evidence of Muslim-based conspiracy theories." Interestingly, he noticed that First Nations' students are much more open to examine the underlying causes of these events rather than immediately blaming it on a particular religion. Sheldon stated that "there is a lot of progressive-minded people in Saskatchewan, but there's also a lot of very backward people, and that they're very, how do you say, old school" (Sheldon, interview, December 8, 2015). Both Sheldon who teaches in a demographically mixed school and James who teaches in a rural community that is evenly composed of "First Nations and very White" (James, interview,

December 5, 2015) claimed they noticed racist responses among their students while discussing current events related to the refugee crisis or the terrorist attack on Paris in 2015. This is also evident in the way James used common day classification of people as expressed in the phrase ‘very White.’

Interestingly, neither James nor Sheldon provided significant evidence that they attempted to deconstruct pervasive Western beliefs and discourses regarding the association of Muslims with terrorism. This observation is aligned with the findings of Romanowski (2009) who analyzed secondary American history textbooks in the wake of 9/11 events. Romanowski argues that the textbooks failed to question the moral and ethical responses of the United States as manifested in its foreign and domestic policies. These textbooks, according to Romanowski, excluded significant information related to these events (p. 26). He further asserts that these exclusions “limited the perspectives that students could consider, constrained possible alternatives, and avoided ethical concerns and issues” (p. 26). I assume that it is difficult for many teachers, whether they belong to minority groups or to the dominant group, to counter hegemonic discourses when patriotic sentiments are running high in times of war.

Racism is the antithesis of cosmopolitanism. It allows the powerful to exploit people from other cultures and religions by considering them as “inherently inferior” (Van Hooft, 2009, p. 6). It assigns a unique denigrating characteristic to people in a targeted group, a strategy that proved to be divisive (Sen, 2006). In contrast, cosmopolitanism is invoked against all forms of discrimination, racism, prejudice, and exploitation of Others based on any type of group identification (Van Hooft, 2009, p. 5).

Theme 5: Teachers’ Dismantling the Dominant Narrative against First Nations

All the participant-teachers that I interviewed showed evidence of a struggle to dismantle in their classrooms the various prevalent discriminatory discourses and racist ideologies against Aboriginal peoples in Saskatchewan. Participant-teachers acknowledged that “there is a lot of misconceptions and myths” circulating in Saskatchewan, particularly in small rural communities, regarding issues related to Aboriginal peoples (Albert, interview, November 30, 2015). Students are exposed to these misconceptions and myths about Aboriginal peoples at home, through the media and in the community and end up internalizing them. Here Albert is confirming Green’s (2006) argument that “Racism is transmitted intergenerationally and is thus rendered non-controversial. Destabilizing it is enormously difficult “(Green, 2006, p. 515). The interviewed

teachers claimed to adopt different ways to disrupt these dominant narratives. For example, through introducing students to different worldviews, Albert attempted to dismantle the myth that First Nations protest the expansion of the oil pipeline into their sacred lands because they want “a chunk of the money.” Through discussion of different worldviews, Albert attempted to help students understand the First Nations’ relationship with the land being one of stewardship.

Sheldon attempted to deconstruct the blame-the-victim discourse and its intersection with the neoconservative discourse against First Nations on the prairies in his classroom teaching. The neoconservative discourse considers historical injustices as a problem of the past while “any lingering evidence of racism is constructed as individual pathology” (Joshee, 2009, p. 100). For example, he said that after he explains the history of the oppression of First Nations in Canada, he discusses today’s issues such as higher rates of suicide among Indigenous peoples, and drug and alcohol abuse. Sheldon’s teaching of history is not only synchronic, but also diachronic because it accounts for the “entanglement of histories and cultures” (Papastephanou, 2002, p. 78). He said,

I think sometimes students, especially here on the prairies, have a real racist ideology about how First Nations peoples are lazy, they’re just welfare recipients, but they don’t see the long, the big picture of how they got to be here. You know, their culture was ripped away from them, residential schools. (Sheldon, interview, December 8, 2015)

I found Sheldon’s approach to deconstructing racist ideologies against First Nations genuinely engaging and geared towards fostering cosmopolitan education. Consider the following two learning strategies he conducts in his classroom. In the first one, he invites a First Nations guest speaker to talk to his class about the Treaties and residential schools. He thinks that this native voice has the potential to empower First Nations students in his class rather than just hearing the perspective of the “White guy teacher.” In this manner, his teaching approach takes into consideration Papastephanou’s (2002) warning to educators “against the contentious language of identification and empathy” in education when speaking on behalf of the Other (p. 74). Sheldon’s second pedagogical technique is one he called “the blanket activity” to engender a genuine understanding of the historical events related to First Nations peoples from the first contact up to our present day. According to Sheldon, the aim of this activity is to foster critical awareness regarding the colonization of Aboriginal peoples and bring to life their experiences. Here is the description of the activity:

Basically, you have all students on blankets, and then you come around, and say, okay, now you people you just died of smallpox, and take them away. And then, you students now you were sent to residential schools, you go here, okay. You were killed in a battle here, you know what I mean? So it sort of, they physically see their population getting smaller. (Sheldon, interview, December 8, 2015)

Similarly, Annie stated that “teaching the Treaties is a thread that runs through [her] courses” (interview, December 14, 2015). The activities she described that were related to the Treaties and Indigenous issues are evidence of her cosmopolitan sensibilities towards injustices faced by historically marginalized and oppressed people. She used either a current article about Indigenous issues from a newspaper or a current event from the community to raise students’ awareness of these issues. An example of one of these events is the Red Dress project that took place at the University of Saskatchewan campus as an awareness project of the missing or murdered Aboriginal women. Annie engaged students in a discussion by bringing in the historical thinking “Big 6” questions listed below under *Theme 9*. For example, in one activity, she created an experience that reflects the Treaty experience where students had to swap items from nature that they had connected to and then traded with Western items without using language or resistance. She also developed lessons around the CBC documentary “8th Fire.” This four-part documentary highlights the changing relationship between Canada and Aboriginal community by “coming out of conflict, colonialism and denial” (Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, 2012).

However, James had a different response to his students regarding the nature of Treaty rights such as the right of First Nations not to pay taxes and the right for free housing, among others. While his intention might be to project a reconciliatory relationship with Aboriginal peoples, his teaching about the Treaties masks the injustices that faced Indigenous peoples and led to the Treaties. It also ignores any controversies regarding the Treaties. This excerpt indicates his understanding of Treaties:

Well someone gave that land up, in essence so that you could farm on it. So your family can get homestead for five dollars and farm that’s hundred 60 acres, to that recognition that you are here because and we’re here because of Treaties and if we look at the economic value of that parcel of land you sit on today, you know, it was given up, or you

know, was traded away, in essence is part of a contract for not very much. (interview, December 5, 2015)

His explanation suggests that those Treaties were the result of an economic contract that was mutually beneficial and free of any coercion or oppression. This is how the neoliberal discourse masks injustices under the pretense that its economic mechanisms benefit everyone (Harvey, 2005; Apple, 2006). It is also an example of why many scholars consider neoliberalism to keep power hidden from the public (Orlowski, 2011; Apple, 2006). In contrast, as mentioned above, central to Sheldon's teaching of First Nations issues is the horrific impact of colonialism on their cultures. James repeatedly asserted that "Treaties, colonialism and Indigenous perspectives are front and center" in all his lessons. However, the quote suggests that there is a need to reach out to all teachers with better teacher education programs with regards to Indigenous studies, an education that addresses dominant narratives and stereotypes and acknowledges historical injustices and their repercussions on the present situations of oppressed people.

Theme 6: Caught in-Between: White Supremacy and Openness to Diversity

White supremacy remains a subconscious bias among many White individuals. As McIntyre (1997) informs us, White discourse reconstructs and perpetuates common stereotypes about the Other, particularly their inherent inferiority. On one hand, Whites distance themselves from any responsibility in participating in institutional racism; on the other hand, they want to show us that they respect inclusivity and openness to difference (McIntyre, 1997). James asserted that he despises bigotry and racism, and he is open to multiculturalism and people coming to Canada to seek a better life. Yet, he revealed racist attitudes in his use of language.

Unlike some of his students, James asserted that, because of his white privilege, he never had to face obstacles and never will. But "damn it," he says, "it's not wrong for others to seek the same opportunities as you've enjoyed as a person of privilege in our society" (interview, December 5, 2015). He explains to his students that the White privilege will not be taken away, but when Whites *allow* others to seek the same opportunities, everyone prospers: "a rising boat lifts all boats" (interview, December 5, 2015, emphasis mine). Several points arise from interpreting James's comments. First, Whiteness is assigned primacy over all other identity negating other forms of diversity. This White tolerance to allow the Other to prosper by making concessions is indicative of the liberal principle that "it was never intended to be a model for pursuing social justice" (Delanty, 2009, p. 141). This White tolerance is indicative of "a

paradigm of pluralism premised on a hierarchical order of cultures that under certain conditions ‘allows’ non-dominant cultures to participate in the dominant culture” rather than empowering these minorities (Henry & Tator, 2010, p. 40).

Second, as Green (2006) points out, race is a manufactured category, but racism is real: “Racism occurs when people behave as though race were a real category, and when they act on the privileges or liabilities conferred by racist processes” (p. 513). Further Oslen (2002), argues that:

Contemporary white privilege is like an ‘invisible weightless knapsack’ of advantages that whites draw on in their daily lives to improve or maintain their social position, even as they hold to the ideals of political equality and equal opportunity. (as quoted in Green, 2006, p. 512)

Third, the discourse of equality of opportunity is entrenched in the neoliberal ideology (Joshee, 2007, p. 179). Neoliberalism gives people the impression that the economic success of few elite will ultimately lead to the common good (Apple, 2006), as the adage “a rising tide lifts all boats” implies (Harvey, 2005, p. 64). Turner (1986) notes that, in the traditional Western liberal democracies, equality is closely linked to competitive individualism and capitalism with those “less equal” seeking the privileges and sameness in equality with the dominant group (as cited in Joshee, 2007, p. 179).

In responding about how to deal with cultural tension in the classroom, James claimed to teach his students that immigrants should not be immediately considered as a threat to Canada or a financial burden, a perspective that is perpetuated by the neoconservative discourse. He teaches his students that some of the immigrants from Asia and Africa are educated and Canada needs them because of its low birthrate. However, this is how he addressed their complaints about some immigrants taking jobs away from Canadians:

When you go to a motel, who’s in the cleaning staff? Whose picking up dirty towels and cleaning your toilets? What do they look like? And the answers typically, that they are not White, to put it bluntly. Or if you are ... White and you have a chance to talk to them, what sort of accent do they have? The students say, well they’re, they didn’t even recognize it. We talked a bit further and maybe they’re from Ukraine or Poland or Eastern Europe. Okay. So how many Canadians are lined up to take these jobs? How many Canadian do you know that are working cleaning toilets in a motel? Nobody. Okay. So

challenging students around issues like that I think is, I think sometimes it's really easy because it's in, it's obvious, it's out in the open, immigrants aren't a threat to Canadian workers. (James, interview, December 5, 2015)

His comfort to students regarding losing their jobs to immigrants highlights the White peoples' concern in times of economic insecurity of losing their privilege and what comes with it (McIntyre, 1997, p. 57; Mackey, 2002). This fear of losing White privilege is the cause behind "rigidifying further racism" (McIntyre 1997, p. 57). Both the fear of poverty (Heater, 2002) and racism are obstacles to cosmopolitanism (Van Hooft, 2009). There are several concerning issues in these teaching revelations. First, European Canadians are equated as only White, or probably only 'very White' (not First Nations or Chinese Canadians). Poverty among White people is ignored and White Canadians holding low-paying jobs are also erased from existence. Whiteness becomes a monolithic entity associated with the privileged elite group. In contrast, Jeannotte (2003, p. 4) argues that the fragmentation in Canadian society is caused not by diversity, but by a combination of exclusionary factors such as social and cultural marginalization and poverty as well as a host of other factors including being a single mother, being old or young, being an immigrant or an Aboriginal individual.

Second, in James' comments, immigrants (except some of them) are portrayed as qualified only for low-paying jobs, and these low-paying jobs are not sought by White Canadians as they do not fit their status. The language used by James in describing these low-paying jobs such as in the use of terms like 'toilet,' 'dirty,' and 'cleaning staff' suggests denigration and disrespect for both immigrants and poor people holding these jobs. His teaching ignores studies that show the contribution of immigrants to the economy by creating jobs for themselves and for other Canadians. It is also ironic that James sees Saskatchewan as more welcoming than big cities such as Toronto, Montreal, Calgary, and Vancouver. Third, his comments exemplify the discourse of racism inherent within neoliberalism that ignores the need for government policies to disrupt systemic racism; "The discourse of neoliberal racism is devoid of the language of collective responsibility, social agency, or any defence of the public good" (Giroux, 2004, as cited in Henry & Tator, 2010, p. 16). In other words, ideological inequalities are justified in the pursuit of the preservation of White privilege.

At this point, it is important to highlight some features of cosmopolitan education that need to be incorporated in teacher education programs because many White teachers who belong

to the elite group need to “unlearn their own privileges” (Giroux’s, 1994, p. 327) and develop an understanding that all human beings deserve equal moral standing. Cosmopolitan education ethically and critically addresses connectivity without reproducing social inequalities in the search for alternative options to build a better future (Rizvi, 2009). Drawing on Beck (2000), Rizvi states that cosmopolitan learning fosters reflexivity that is essential to raise consciousness of ideological assumptions of Others and our positionality within “asymmetrical configuration of power” (Rizvi, 2009, p. 267). Unlike neoliberalism, cosmopolitanism seeks to protect the underprivileged and condemns inequalities and injustices in the world (Warf, 2012). From this view, teacher education programs need to incorporate cosmopolitan learning. “If one does not uncover the influence such hegemonic ideologies have on teachers’ thinking, then teachers often ‘normalize’ these racist and classist ideological orientations and treat them as ‘natural’” (Bartolome, 2008, as quoted in Orlowski, 2011, p. 197). Cosmopolitan education is a vehicle that has the potential to transform teachers’ thinking towards the Other.

Theme 7: Minimal Attention to the Teaching About Women’s Rights and the Gay Rights Movements

There is some variation in focus around teaching about women’s rights and gay rights among participants. Some teachers were supplementing the curriculum in order to provide students with content related to women’s rights and gay rights movements. Others did not focus on these issues or just barely addressed them. For example, Albert occasionally talked about women’s rights with his students such as abortion issues, women’s suffrage, their portrayal in the media and violence against women. He also complained that the curriculum does not provide support for the teaching of these issues. He stated:

There is a lot that I wanted to do that wasn’t anywhere to be found; For example, the other day I was looking for the curriculum for a project that I was involved with, women’s suffrage. And you know, there’s hardly anything in there for women’s rights and I know the same experience with First Nations content and things like that, you know, gay rights movement (Albert, interview, November 30, 2015).

Sheldon claimed that he did not focus on the teaching of women’s rights. Women’s rights come up occasionally such as in a unit on World War I and II, in a unit on the Arab world, or when there is a current event that is affecting women such as the girl who was recently raped on a bus in India. Regarding Muslim women, Sheldon pointed out that students in his class put all

“Muslim countries in one pot” assuming that all Muslim women are oppressed and have no rights in all these countries (interview, December 8, 2015). Sheldon explained that he sought to break up such stereotypes that are also propagated by the media and Hollywood. It appears that Sheldon attempted to dismantle the “discourse of a monolithic ‘other’” (Henry & Tator, 2010, p. 117). In the context of Muslim women, the dominant society imposes a monolithic identity on all Muslim women as it ignores all other forms of diversity and difference within this group.

In his teaching about women’s rights, James used major historical developments in relation to women’s rights in Canada such as custodial rights and property rights, and women suffrage. He compared these developments to current women’s issues in oppressed regimes and challenges students to explore how the situations of these oppressed women may change in the future and evolve towards equality and justice, as it historically took place in Canada. He also taught about the lives of particular “positive strong female model[s]” who made a difference regarding the rights of women such as the Pakistani young girl named Malala Yousafzai (interview, December 5, 2015). Malala survived an assassination attempt for seeking education. In his teaching, James also attempted to foster critical thinking in his students when he challenged them to reflect on the persistence of discrimination based on gender identity and its intersection with race. For example, he asked his students the following:

Yeah, Canadian women now have rights, but ask yourself, if you’re given a choice in Canada today, would you be a man? Would you like to be a women knowing what we know about the inequities in pay for Canadian women, domestic violence that Canadian women face, issues like the thousands of missing Indigenous women in 2015?

Similarly, Chris focused on teaching women’s rights historically, nationally, and globally. However, it seems that this focus was also embedded in his history classes rather than in Social Studies 9. He discussed women’s rights in Canada and United States during World War I and II and in women’s rights movement in the 1960s, until our present day. Issues he focused on include the suffrage movement, social and political equality, women as advocates for themselves, stereotypical gender roles, and abortion.

Theme 8: Varied Attention to the Teaching about Multiculturalism

Some teachers acknowledged that the type of demographics in their classroom affects their ability to teach multiculturalism. First, it is important to note that all participants expressed their pride in Canada’s reputation for openness and freedom and highlighted Canada’s historical

past in welcoming refugees. From this premise, they sought to incorporate multiculturalism to a certain extent in their teaching even in rural settings. They mentioned activities that aim to bring multiple perspectives into the classroom.

Albert, who taught in a rural area in Saskatchewan, found difficulty in teaching multiculturalism to a classroom that was homogenously composed of students from a middle class European background: “These kids weren’t interacting with people of other cultures, you know, other perspectives, other economic classes, and things like that,” he observed (interview, November, 30, 2015). Albert attempted to introduce students to other perspectives by disrupting the national narrative. However, the students were incapable of “seeing concrete examples of multiculturalism.” Therefore, he just touched on multiculturalism as a theme to draw their attention to various connections. Albert spoke about teaching multiculturalism with broadness and no specificity.

James who taught in a rural community that is composed of “First Nations and very White” stated that many of his students are not familiar with the demographic realities outside their community (interview, December 5, 2015). Therefore, he strove to bring those realities into his classroom. He believed that the use of current events such as the Paris Bombing in 2015 is a powerful strategy to teach about multiculturalism because the students are aware of these events. I wonder whether this strategy is positively powerful or has the potential to depict multiculturalism as a threat to Canada. James noticed that students who come from conservative families known as “rednecks” are more likely than First Nations students to associate terrorist events with “Muslims-based theories” and the event of September 11. In discussing the Syrian refugee crisis and the Canadian government’s decision to accept them, he referred to Canada’s history regarding refugees to deconstruct and challenge his students’ assumptions that connect Muslims, Syrians, and terrorism.

Sheldon, who taught in urban schools, used current events along other ways to teach about multiculturalism. For example, in a demographically mixed school, Sheldon related the Syrian refugee crisis to Canadian racist immigration policies such as the Chinese Head Tax in his History 30 class. Sheldon sought to build empathy towards these refugees by teaching his students not to stereotype others. He further placed the issue of Syrian refugees in a global historical context when he compared the racist views of Donald Trump, the presumptive Republican presidential candidate for the United States in 2016, to historical racist events such as

Nazi Germany and the apartheid system in South Africa. Sheldon emphasized the importance of teaching multiculturalism based on Dance, Dress, and Dining approach despite that the educational merit of this 3-D approach to the teaching of multiculturalism is contested in the academic literature. According to Srivastava (2007), this approach does not address racial and social inequality. Sheldon also exhibited sensitivity and concern for his students when teaching about controversial issues that might be affecting them personally. He tried to ensure that he was providing a safe environment in his class that does not allow accusations of any sort to anyone. For example, when teaching about First Nations' problems with alcoholism, he worried if any of his First Nations students was facing such a problem in his or her family. Sheldon also referred to Canada's historical past in welcoming refugees and sought to deconstruct his students' knowledge when they link terrorism with Syrian refugees and Muslims.

Chris used origin stories or traditional well-known myths from around the globe to help students first develop their own worldviews about the world, and then develop an understanding of different cultural perspectives. It remains unclear whether these selected worldviews, particularly because they are origin stories or traditional myths, reinforce stereotypes of some kind or genuinely help students develop a cultural awareness. Annie also included activities that she referred to as "sharing opportunities" to help students bring their perspectives, their prior knowledge, and their life experiences into the classroom. She emphasized the importance of getting her students to connect and value their own ways of knowing (interview, December 14, 2015). In an activity that aims at "honouring multiculturalism in an authentic way," she blended in parts that "honour" the Treaties. Annie's use of the term "honour" was genuinely reflected in the activity she shared. Briefly, students in this activity had to trade an item that they had collected from nature and developed an attachment and appreciation to (such as a plant for incident medicine). This swapping of items is apparently done without using language, without an opportunity to explain themselves or to resist. By applying the concept of multiculturalism to the context of Aboriginal peoples, Annie missed the view that there is a hegemonic strategy deployed in the discourse of multiculturalism against Aboriginal peoples. According to Henry and Tator (2010), government policies between 1970 and 1990 based on the concept of multiculturalism exhibit "a desire on the part of the federal government to decentralize and dismantle its obligations to Indigenous peoples, and to deal with them as just another element in multicultural Canada" (pp. 116-117). Similarly, St. Denis (2011) argues that multiculturalism

does not address colonialism and racism. Rather, “it is used as a pretext to justify refusal for an authentic engagement with Aboriginal people, culture, and history” (p. 313). Thus, teacher education programs should emphasize a pedagogy that explores the controversial viewpoints regarding the concept of multiculturalism.

Theme 9: Orientation towards Teaching about Global Citizenship

Teaching global citizenship was on the agenda of all the teachers that I interviewed. However, each had a different perspective about what global citizenship is and how to teach it. I believe that if we put together all the activities done by these teachers in one lesson on global citizenship, we would have a strong cosmopolitan unit that has the potential to foster critical thinking for social justice. Annie, Albert, and Sheldon engaged students in activities that promote critical thinking towards global citizenship. Chris did not teach about global citizenship in Social Studies 9. He taught about global citizenship in his grades 11 to 12 history classes in the context of international diplomacy during World War II. Chris raised issues regarding ideology and nationhood. James taught about global citizenship by naming historical events in Canadian history such as the role of Canadians in leading to the establishment of the United Nations and Canada’s participation in the 1914 war against Germany.

Albert’s teaching about global citizenship intersects with cosmopolitan education because he seeks to promote moral responsibility towards the world. He also attempts to promote criticality, reflexivity, and even an understanding of historicity that is embedded in inter-cultural encounters (Rizvi, 2009). These are the principles of cosmopolitan education highlighted above. For example, Albert tried to raise the students’ awareness that we are not only Canadian citizens, or Saskatchewan citizens, but citizens of the world. He also attempted to engage students in critical thinking about the role of Canada on the world stage and not only as part of the West. He addressed the implications of Canada’s foreign affairs on issues related to inequalities. Some of the questions he raised are: “Why is there poverty in the world?” Why do we have so much wealth here, but in a place like Africa, you know, what’s happened to have that gap?” (interview, November 30, 2015). This is aligned with Nussbaum’s (1996/2002) emphasis that civic education should question our privilege for high living standards as compared to the rest of the world. Rather than teaching his students about colonialism and its consequences on racial inequality between nations such as Canada, the United States and Europe, he said he got the students to explore those issues themselves as fair players in the learning process: “Kids have an

inherent sense of fairness,” Albert stated. Consequently, students were transforming their perspectives from initially “shrugging their shoulders, and say, well that’s just the way it is” to becoming critically interested in exploring the relationships between these inequalities, the dynamics of decision making process, and the involvement of individuals, nations, and peoples in these decisions.

Albert said he engaged students in reflecting on their sense of morality, responsibility, equality and what is a good life from their perspectives. He also involved them in learning about First Nations worldviews such as the responsibility to the tribe. Albert explained,

I started them looking at themselves and then looking at Canadian worldview, starting at self and moving outward themselves and then community worldview, Canadian worldview, and then more of a global worldview. (interview, November 30, 2015)

Here Albert’s description closely reflects Nussbaum’s description of the concentric circles depicting morality as a concern for all human beings.

Similarly, Sheldon mentioned numerous examples about how he incorporated the teaching of moral responsibility and obligations towards a global community. The examples he provided exhibited his cosmopolitan sensibilities in teaching students about global issues. For instance, he taught a whole unit on sweatshops and the exploitation of children by notorious brands such as Nike. Sheldon claimed to urge students to be aware that though these types of exploitation are taking place far away, their individual action such as buying the products of exploitation is a support of these practices. Here Saito’s (2010) three principles of cosmopolitan education are applied: these are stretching one’s affective attachments across borders; fostering an awareness of transnational connections and their relationships to the students’ everyday life; and encouraging students to transfer these attachments and connections to transform the world and the students themselves (p. 334).

Further, in teaching the history of ancient civilizations and why some civilizations collapsed while others thrived, Sheldon said he integrated a current global concern such as the management of valuable resources like oil and water. One of his interesting activities dealt with the water crisis faced by many countries. In this activity, he assigned a country that suffers a shortage of water to each student, depending on the size of the class. Each student got two and a half liters of water that they had to use it for all their needs for a day: “It’s kind of powerful, especially for Canadian kids because I think sometimes we forget how the rest of the world

really is,” says Sheldon (interview, December 8, 2015). This is where the teaching of global citizenship and cosmopolitan education overlaps. It is when we become aware of our moral responsibility in sharing scarce resources and the need for their equal distribution.

Annie’s approach to the teaching of global citizenship involves critical thinking by analyzing a current event and drawing on one or more of the historical thinking ‘Big 6’ questions. These are 1) How do we decide what and whose stories we tell? 2) How do we know what we know? 3) Does change always mean progress? 4) What are the causes that are hidden from you? 5) How can we ever understand the past? and 6) What do historical injustices and sacrifices mean for us today? (interview, December 14, 2015). These questions encompass a number of cosmopolitan features in education as discussed in Chapter Two. For example, Rizvi emphasizes the importance of fostering “epistemic virtues” to develop in students a critical approach to knowing and cross-cultural discourse (p. 264). The significance of these six questions also converges with the notions of criticality, relationality, reflexivity (Saito, 2010; Rizvi, 2009) and historicity (Rizvi, 2009) in cosmopolitan education.

James’ teaching of global citizenship is associated with teaching about major events, diplomatic and military, in Canada’s history. He highlighted that the curriculum is aligned with global citizenship and is evidenced in the teaching about the role of the United Nations and Canada’s history. This includes the role of Canada opening up diplomatic relations with Cuba and China, the contribution of Canada to the establishment of the United Nations, and its participation as a peacekeeping force.

Of importance is that all teachers demonstrated that they were involved in teaching about global citizenship from a cosmopolitan perspective. In other words, they incorporated the affective, critical, and cognitive components of cosmopolitan education. They attempted to expand students’ moral affiliations and obligations beyond their national borders. They raised their consciousness about inequalities in the distribution of resources.

Theme 10: Teaching about Human Rights

The participants discuss human rights differently and with a different emphasis. Some focus on it globally in relation to historical events, others focus on it nationally in relation to Indigenous issues, and others emphasize it nationally and globally in relation to social justice. Chris said he discussed human rights issues globally in history classes in the context of war and in relation to political and economic historical events. One example is Richard Nixon’s decision

to deal with China for economic reasons despite its human rights abuses (interview, December 16, 2015). During the Cold War of that era, this teaching was a particularly bold move.

The participants are also cognizant of human rights issues affecting First Nations' life on reserves. Sheldon said he drew his students' attention to the fact that human rights of First Nations on reserves are ignored such as their lack of safe drinking water and their substandard housing. He sought to raise his students' awareness that First Nations' "living conditions are as bad or worse than in some developing nations" (interview, December 8, 2015). This observation is indicative of a genuine concern towards the plight of First Nations because it points to unfairness in the Canadian society without using the discourse of blame-the-victim.

Albert's approach to teaching human rights consisted of different steps. First, he claimed to engage his students in identifying and defining what is justice to them. Then, he had his students reflect upon injustices in Canadian history such as the residential schools. Albert noted that though his students internalized human rights issues, they had difficulty accepting different religious practices as a form of human rights. Examples included the wearing of the face covering by Muslim women during Canadian citizenship ceremony.

Annie said she taught about human rights in different ways. While other teachers' use of the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms is minimal, Annie used it frequently and in different ways, including displaying a big poster of it on her classroom wall. Annie also taught about human rights globally. In one activity that highlights the inequality in the distribution of resources in the world in relation to global population, she guided her students to deconstruct the notions of needs and wants. She also engaged them in learning about social justice and the right of the child based on the UN's Declaration of the Rights of the Child.

Theme 11: Teaching about Poverty

Some of the teachers shared activities that deal with poverty nationally and globally. These activities are indicative of the extent to which teachers themselves are committed to what they teach. The following description of these activities shows how cosmopolitan sentiments could be nurtured in the classroom.

Albert revealed that unraveling the students' belief in meritocracy is challenging because Canadian society in general and the media in particular indoctrinate them into it all the time. To make students understand privilege and marginalization, he engaged them in an activity based on Peggy McIntosh's essay on White privilege (1990), which deals with racial issues and

disproportionate privileges that one receives by virtue of being White. With this activity, Albert demonstrated a genuine attempt to deconstruct the discourse of equal opportunity based on the belief in meritocracy in assigning privileges and that “we all have equal opportunity to succeed and the same rights” (Henry & Tator, 2010, p. 13). Here is the description of this activity:

Students are lined up on a starting position for a race on the football field. The teacher reads a list of statements related to racial, sexual, or economic privilege one at a time. Students take a step forward to each statement that applied to them. The final step forward of each student becomes his or her starting point for the race (interview, November 30, 2015). At this point, the teacher asks them to race. Albert observed that usually the “wealthier White boys were all at the front.” Examples of these statements that Albert offered are:

- “I can be pretty sure that my classmates will be comfortable with my race most of the time.”
- “My parents make enough money to pay their bills without worry.”
- “When I learn about our country’s history and culture I know I learn about the contributions of my race.”

He explained that “the race becomes a metaphor for society” that shows that “just by virtue of where and when we’re born,” we easily win the race or have to work much harder than others to succeed.

Albert also used activities to teach about poverty from a global perspective. For example, to teach students about African decolonization after World War II, he divided students into groups. Each group was assigned a particular country of a continent modeling Africa to run with limited resources. In this activity, students learned how difficult it is to run a country with limited resources and how some countries are exploited by colonialism. They also learn that some countries have more resources than others and how difficult it is to make decisions to benefit the people of one’s country when resources are limited. Albert maintained that this type of activity helps students understand the causes of poverty in the world and that “it’s tough to get out of that cycle, for individuals and for nations, to get out of that cycle of poverty” (interview, November 30, 2015).

Sheldon said that he attempted to deconstruct the dominant ideologies regarding global poverty by raising students’ consciousness about the dynamics of power and its exploitative means. He claimed to urge his students to question why there are socioeconomic disparities

among people and nations and to reject dominant discourses such as people are born poor or they are lazy. Regarding global poverty, Sheldon explained to his students the impact of colonialism, exploitation, and oppression on countries that are suffering from poverty today. He stated,

Even when I teach about slavery, I say look at how the United States got into a position of power that they're in. They had 200 years of free labor. It's like imagine if you owned a business and never paid your employees. You get pretty rich. (Sheldon, interview, December 8, 2015)

While the formal curriculum discussed in the previous chapter justifies slavery for economic prosperity, Sheldon condemned it as the cause of poverty in many underdeveloped nations. This shows how neoliberalism constructs and perpetuates particular knowledge. It also demonstrates how the enacted curriculum can be powerful in deconstructing hegemonic discourses.

Annie taught about poverty from a global perspective. She shared with me several activities that dealt with poverty and social injustices such as the unequal distribution of wealth across the planet, including activities related to inequity in global wages. She also incorporated lessons from resources related to globalization such as Bigelow and Peterson's (2002) book *Rethinking Globalization: Teaching for Justice in an Unjust World*.

James points out that some students from economically privileged families find difficulty in understanding how some people fall into poverty despite our social safety net. He said he also taught about global poverty as an outcome of colonization after World War II. However, I notice some contradiction in James' teaching about global citizenship. While on one hand he taught his students to reflect on their economic choices when buying cheap clothes because of slave labor or dire working conditions, he somehow justified low wages in poor countries. This is how he put it:

and also drawing notice well that's yes \$0.25 an hour may seem like a slave labor wage to us in North America, but for a family of 10 or 12 in Bangladesh that \$0.25 an hour may mean a difference between survival or not. So we need to look at it from the perspective of others. (interview, December 5, 2015)

The perspective that is ignored here is the perspective of global equality and justice, the core component of cosmopolitanism, where all people have the right to equal opportunity irrespective of traditional or political contexts. The perspective of the Other is stripped from its agency and ability to face the historical and global dynamics of neoliberalism and capitalism. Elucidating

Pogge's (1998) insights on global poverty, Van Hooft (2009) writes, "poverty in the developing world is due to global political and economic institutions that are designed to benefit those in the first world" (p. 102). In other words, our cheap clothing and coffee and other products are done by underpaid workers in countries run by tyrants supported by the affluent world. Coercive organizations and international policies such as intellectual property rules and international lending policies contribute to the increased poverty of underdeveloped nations and more wealth of the rich nation. Consequently, cosmopolitanism places responsibility and obligations on the advanced world to help the poor one (Van Hooft, 2009). In his strong advocacy of an "inclusive and empathetic" cosmopolitanism against neoliberalism (p. 271), Warf (2012, p. 286) nicely captures the interpretation of global justice when he quotes Rorty (1998):

Doing justice to the Third World would require exporting capital and jobs until everything is leveled out—until an honest day's work, in a ditch or at a computer, earns no higher a wage in Cincinnati or Paris than in a small town in Botswana.

James claimed to want his students to be aware of economic connections resulting from foreign aid by asking what tangible benefits Canadians receive from providing foreign aid to other countries. The provision of foreign aid to poor countries is not presented as a moral obligation of the affluent ones, but in terms of reciprocal economic benefits. In contrast, cosmopolitanism urges us to help countries that suffer from disaster as moral obligations, not even considering it as an act of charity (Van Hooft, 2009).

Theme 12: Teachers' Perspectives on Canadian Values, Identity, and Culture

Two different perspectives on Canadian identity and culture emanate from the interviews with the five social studies teachers in Saskatchewan. While they all agree that freedom of speech and the right for participating in a democratic process are Canadian values, some interviewees asserted that it is difficult to define Canadian identity because we are composed of a mixture of people from all over the world. In other words, it is because Canada is multicultural. For example, Chris stated "Canada stands in a pretty unique position to be allowed not to have a national identity necessarily focused on a shared culture and a shared history, but rather a nation and identity that is focused on cultural diversity" (interview, December 16, 2015). He claimed to feel pride in Canada for its "ideal international reputation of being friendly." Annie also asserted "the landscape of Canadian values is so diverse and so dynamic" (interview, December 14, 2015). Sheldon asked these questions: "You can always get into the debate about what are our

Canadian values. Do we have any? Because we're such a mix of people from all over the world, should there be one dominant view?" (interview, December 8, 2015).

Final Thoughts

In sum, this discussion indicates that cosmopolitan education is already implemented to a certain extent in Saskatchewan high schools. This is in contrast to the analysis of the formal curriculum in the previous chapter. Most teachers are "already cosmopolitan-minded and can draw this aspect out, cultivate it, and render it educative for themselves and for others" (Hansen, 2010b, p. 13). Teacher-participants were able to articulate and generate cosmopolitan learning in their classroom. In general, they exhibited genuine openness towards other cultures as well as empathy and care towards the poor and marginalized whether in their responses to the interview questions or in the activities that they shared. They showed that they are able to engage in dismantling the various discourses of democratic racism including the discourse of blame-the victim in the context of Aboriginal peoples, the discourse of equal opportunity, the discourse of neoliberalism and the discourse of conservatism, among others. This means that bridging the gap between cosmopolitan education and the enacted curriculum of social studies in Saskatchewan high schools is already occurring. The need is to build on this pedagogical capacity by revising the formal curriculum and strengthening teacher education programs from a cosmopolitan perspective in order to reduce discrimination and racism and promote peaceful intercultural encounters in our communities.

Yet, the analysis of the participant-teachers' perspectives provides evidence that there is a need for an education that is morally and culturally cosmopolitan in its orientation towards Aboriginal peoples and immigrants in Canadian society. First, teacher education programs should seek to challenge prospective teachers to critically reflect on their privileged beliefs and practices, alter their understandings of the Other by promoting relationality, and engage them in actions to transform their teaching practices and the world around them. Teacher education programs should seek to disrupt the belief in White supremacy, colonial discourse, the discourse of equal opportunity, as well as other discriminatory discourses that are prevalent in our increasingly diverse society. Second, it is clear from the teachers' perspectives that immigrants and Aboriginal peoples remain marginalized and stereotyped, not only in the social studies curriculum, but in society at large. Consequently, "political, economic, and social changes also need to occur in the wider community context. Transformation and how it is attained requires a

critical and political understanding, eventually commitment to act” facilitated by cooperation between community members, educators, and researchers in order to foster the well-being of society (Menzies, Archibald, & Smith, 2014, p. 2).

In reflecting on his understanding of global citizenship, Chris said “as a young boy growing up in the middle of the prairies, there was really no understanding or concept of the grander world” (interview, December 16, 2015). He understood the meaning of “artificial boundaries” when he started discussing issues with family members who are “actually quite spread across the globe.” Today either our families are spread across the world or the world is surrounding us in our local communities and schools due to rapidly changing demographics. Therefore, it is time to implement cosmopolitan education in our school to account for the increasing interconnectivity socially, politically, culturally, and economically in our globalized world. The following chapter provides a set of recommendations to promote cosmopolitanism in social and educational policies in Canada.

CHAPTER VI: Forward-Looking: How Can We Bridge the Gap towards Cosmopolitan Education?

Cosmopolitanism is the name not of the solution but of the challenge.

(Appiah, 2006, p. xv)

The aim of this chapter is to develop a set of recommendations based on the data analysis of the previous two chapters. These recommendations highlight the potentials and possibilities of a cosmopolitan orientation in the school system, in social policy, and in intercultural encounters at various levels locally, nationally, and globally. This chapter aims to capture the essence in our ability as Canadians to transcend parochialism, narrow nationalism, ethnic, racial, and religious sentiments, and imaginative stereotypes that serve to keep a nation fragmented and divided in the present and the future.

It is important that I begin by acknowledging the removal of neoliberal and neoconservative elements in our educational system and related policies as they are antithetical to a cosmopolitan orientation to society. I acknowledge, however, the difficulties in making great strides towards attaining a peaceful world as Nussbaum (1996/2002) and other scholars have already warned us. Nussbaum holds that cosmopolitanism “seems to have a hard time gripping the imagination” to expand allegiances and obligations beyond one’s community and nation (p. 5). Cuccioletta (2001/2002) points to the “persistent barriers of racism, fear, ignorance, and imaginative stereotypes” that hinder the development of good human relations (p. 1). Joshee (2009) warns us of the difficulty in facing neoliberalism and neoconservatism for the benefit of the social justice discourse socially and educationally (p. 106). Challenging neoliberalism “seems like pouring a bucket of water on a raging forest fire” argues Orłowski (2011, p. vi). However, these scholars do not surrender to pessimism and cynicism. In contrast, they advocate the need to cultivate care and concern for others at multiple levels, as already noted in the review of the literature.

McConnell (1996/2002) states, “our problem is a loss of confidence in any vision of the good, and a lack of passion for anything beyond material gratification” (p. 78). I agree with the latter part but not with the former. The latter part is entrenched in our daily consumerist behavior and economic interactions at all levels and is legitimately prescribed in our curriculum. It becomes common sense and normalized almost necessitating no contradictions. This is how

hegemony operates (Apple, 2004; McLaren, 2009; Orlowski, 2011). I disagree with McConnell (1996/2002) when he claims that we have lost any confidence in any vision of the good. I argue that we have not sufficiently challenged the powerful forces of neoliberalism and neoconservatism that feed divisive sentiments, ignite hatred toward the cultures of the Other, ignore the violation of human rights, and construct numerous dichotomies of difference nationally and globally to serve individualistic interests. Consequently, we have resorted to modest attempts to alleviate injustices within the potentiality of our individual and collective agencies. Nationally, several individual and collective efforts have demonstrated success, however modestly, in their attempts to better the world. For instance, the Idle No More movement was initiated by three Aboriginal women and one non-Aboriginal woman from Saskatchewan to draw awareness of Indigenous rights (Wotherspoon & Hansen, 2013). The Canadian athlete Terry Fox has inspired many Canadians to participate in movements to raise funds for cancer research. The women's movements in Canada have achieved significant strides towards equality of rights socially, politically, and at all levels of society. Internationally, Doctors Without Borders is a movement that is reaching out to poor war-torn countries. The list goes on and on.

Government social and educational policies have also exercised radical positive transformation nationally and internationally. The Truth and Reconciliation Commission (2008-2015) is an example of a collective effort to commit to reconciliation between Aboriginal peoples and Canadian society. The Canadian Multiculturalism Act (1988) has had its positive impact on Canadian cultural and religious encounters as well as on the education of immigrants in Canadian schools, despite its weaknesses, as already discussed in Chapter One. Therefore, cosmopolitanism is not a far-fetched ideal. But its presence is fragmented in the school system and opposed by the forces of neoliberalism and neoconservatism. So, I do not believe that these individuals and activist movements that I have just mentioned show a loss of confidence of what is good. Cosmopolitanism has its footprints throughout. Therefore, it is neither utopian nor naïve to urge our government and all stakeholders to join in an effort to have the cosmopolitan footprints more visible in our social, political, and educational policies. As Appiah (2006) puts it, "It begins with the simple idea that in the human community, as in national communities, we need to develop habits of coexistence: conversation in its older meaning, of living together, association" in order to establish mutual understanding and respect (p. xix). This dissertation is a

modest contribution to this conversation in the realm of education. It is time now to turn to our curriculum, particularly in Saskatchewan and try to stamp it with the footprints of cosmopolitanism for a better education for our present and future generations.

Future Recommendations

I propose several future recommendations to bridge the gap between the social studies curriculum and cosmopolitan education. Some of these recommendations apply to the formal state-sanctioned social studies curriculum and others to teacher education programs for social studies teachers. I am cognizant that there are many opposing views for such a call for reformulation of the curriculum and teacher education programs. Moreover, there is a lack of consensus of what should be taught in the social studies curriculum (Case & Abbott, 2008). Any conception that is advanced for teaching about citizenship, history, cultures, religions, and civic values is “deemed refuted by the mere existence of another perspective” (McConnell, 1996/2002, p. 79). A prescribed curriculum that is supposed to provide guidance for teachers is considered someone’s way to “impose values” (p. 79). Nonetheless, here are my recommendations.

First, the curriculum requires radical revision from grades 9 to 12. Several of the participants mentioned that social studies can be blended with history or English. Although this suggestion is a viable option, my fear is that cosmopolitan social studies will be placed in the background, with occasional reference in the context of linear history. There is a need to develop a cosmopolitan social studies curriculum across the grades, a curriculum that transcends all boundaries and group categories by cultivating the “minds and imaginations” of students as Nussbaum (1996/2002, p. 15) puts it. It is a curriculum that places students in a network of connections, be it economic, social, religious, political, or cultural, but with moral and cultural cosmopolitanism as the core element of this network. According to the literature on cosmopolitanism as reviewed in Chapter Two, a cosmopolitan curriculum assigns priority to equal moral worth to every individual irrespective of geography, ethnicity, religion, origin, class, gender, and other forms of particularities and differences. It is a curriculum that addresses cultural integration and inclusion, recognizes the value of diversity in all its forms, and encourages openness to others, but also shifts in perspective from the rhetoric of tolerance and accommodation, imagined stereotypes, and opposition to the practice of engagement with the Other and mutual recognition and respect.

Social justice and global justice should be the core of this curriculum. It should begin by recognizing historical injustices and generating initiatives and public discussions to move forward towards reconciliation and peaceful encounters. In this perspective, a revised curriculum intersects with Treaty education. In terms of human rights, there is a need to teach how to enhance the fulfillment of human rights of *all* individuals but not merely basic human rights based on the sufficiency view. Education for human rights does “not remain neutral on controversial questions of justice and legitimacy” (Jones, 2010, p. 115), and is not limited to the boundaries of the nation. Such a cosmopolitan curriculum is aligned with Freire’s (1974/2008) idea of an emancipatory education based on the concept of *conscientization* for social change. Conscientization emphasizes the role of schooling in cultivating critical awareness of asymmetrical power relations that perpetuate exploitation, marginalization, and domination. Conscientization is associated to a political consciousness. In the context of this study, it involves empathy and compassion for the other.

Further, I suggest that a revised curriculum provides teachers with a significant amount of relevant activities so teachers, novices and experienced, have a specific direction to rely on rather than sifting through resources, a time consuming occupation. There is a fear of specific direction turning into a prescriptive curriculum that some teachers consider an imposition. The specific direction I suggest is a cosmopolitan one that challenges the neoliberal and neoconservative orientations in the curriculum. Most importantly, it is a direction that does not allow subtle racism to take hold of the teaching practice. In its best format, a broad curriculum that claims descriptive orientation leaves ample rooms for ideological discourses to subtly steer its direction and reinforce exclusion and discrimination. A cosmopolitan curriculum needs to be a solid platform that teachers can build on it and stretch their moral commitments in their teaching practice.

In addition, it is important that the revision of social studies curriculum of each grade be conducted by a number of teachers from the province of Saskatchewan as well as from teachers across other provinces in order to ensure an inclusive curriculum that incorporates the multitude of voices that shape Canadian landscapes. The selection of these teachers should be inclusive of various ethnic, religious, gendered, racial, and other diverse groups. This is also essential to minimize the possibility of one particular ideology dominating the curriculum. Most of the teachers I interviewed are excellent choice for this initiative. The scholarship on cosmopolitan is

full of complexity and contradictions. The teachers chosen for this pedagogical endeavor should have the opportunity to engage in multiple dialogical debates regarding the design of lessons to maximize positive cosmopolitan outcomes.

The question that may arise is that Canadian teachers are not familiar with the concept of cosmopolitanism. As this research demonstrates, this is not true. First, cosmopolitanism is another term for global citizenship when this latter embodies the moral and cultural tenets of cosmopolitanism and caters to the fulfillment of human rights. Most of the teachers I interviewed are teaching elements of cosmopolitan education. Surely, they also demonstrated that they are cosmopolitan-minded educators. They only need to enhance, to varying degrees, their knowledge of global citizenship from a cosmopolitan perspective. A revised teacher education program would provide them with that knowledge.

I also offer some suggestions regarding teacher education. First, it is essential that social studies teacher education addresses the pervasiveness of White racism that remains subtly entrenched in the “white talk,” attitudes, beliefs, and actions of some White teachers, even though they insist that they are not racist (McIntyre, 1997, p. 45), particularly in the context of Saskatchewan. They see their whiteness as normal and do not realize that they are complicit in perpetuating stereotypes in their teaching practices (McIntyre, 1997) while they make themselves believe that they are deconstructing racism. Drawing on Gramsci’s notion of hegemony, Apple (2004) reminds us that ideological hegemony is capable of taking hold of the teaching practice because there is

a group of ‘intellectuals’ who employ and give legitimacy to the categories, who make the ideological forms seem neutral. Thus, an examination of the very categories and procedures that ‘intellectuals’ like educators employ needs to be one of the prime foci of our investigation. (p. 9)

Racism is the main obstacle to cosmopolitanism (Van Hooft, 2009). Cosmopolitan oriented teacher education would serve to raise teachers’ awareness of White prejudice and privilege. It should develop their capacity to be culturally responsive and endowed with cosmopolitan sensibilities across group categories and boundaries. Essential to this development, teacher education should provide opportunities for interactions with different cultures outside the realm of the dominant culture. The participant-teachers for this study who are either from minority groups or had the opportunity to live in another part of the world have exhibited

broadmindedness, openness, and respect for other cultures. Only James, who taught in rural Saskatchewan, was caught in-between openness to diversity and White prejudice. This is aligned with the findings of two studies: Hendershot and Sperandio's (2009) study reveals that students who participated in a study-abroad programs developed a "global citizenship identity" as a result of their interactions with other places and cultures (p. 46). A global citizen identity, according to this study, is characterized by constructive engagement with the Other, awareness of global problems, activism, awareness of self and others, open-mindedness, and reflexivity (p. 48). Hendershot and Sperandio suggest that creating pedagogical initiatives that engender experiences with different cultures in various places around the world is crucial to the cultivation of cosmopolitan identities. Similarly, the findings of my study, Sfeir (2015), that explored the experiences of individuals who lived in more than three countries for an extended period of time suggest that these experiences helped transform their thinking. They became more open-minded and exhibited cosmopolitan sensibilities.

In addition to addressing White privilege, a teacher education program for preservice teachers of social studies should prepare them to tackle controversial issues circulating in the community, nation, or the world in an ethical manner that is sensitive and culturally responsive towards vulnerable people. Addressing controversial issues with historical consciousness and ethical responsibility could 'heal the divide' between historically marginalized groups and the dominant one and enhance social encounters in society. In addition to Treaty education being a crucial part of this program, there is a need to open a dialogical conversation within these programs about how to discuss culturally contested values and practices in the classroom.

A cosmopolitan teacher education program would enable prospective teachers to develop in their students dispositions of openness to Others and their cultures, nurture affective and cognitive attachments across boundaries and group categories, and build a network of interactions and "multiplication of attachments to foreign people and objects" (Saito, 2010, p. 335). To achieve such teaching and learning outcomes, positive interpersonal relationships between teachers and students are essential. To foster positive interpersonal relationships in the classroom, teachers need to convey a fair, respectful, and inclusive perception of their marginalized students. I believe that teacher agency has a significant role to play in this learning process. It can either contribute to constructing an ethically and culturally responsive teaching/learning process or further marginalize minorities and the disadvantaged and reinforce

prevailing stereotypes in the community. It can effectively challenge racist curriculum and empower students to challenge hegemonic power in their daily lives or silence dissenting voices. To foster a positive teaching agency, teacher education must provide opportunities for prospective teachers for self-reflection on their privileges and biases, promote ways for teachers to establish relationality in their social interactions across categories of difference and boundaries, and encourage commitment to educate citizens of the world. A cosmopolitan teacher education program would enable teachers to facilitate the development of a disposition of openness to Others and the ability to expand one's attachments, obligations, and responsibilities towards all human beings.

In summary, "cosmopolitanism is a demanding moral position" and its relation to education is not straightforward (Van Hooft, 2009, p. 8). However, it is a worthy goal to strive for as it has the potential to lead us on a more peaceful path in our relationships with the world around us. As the role of education has been acknowledged over the ages as a vehicle of disseminating particular knowledge, modes of thinking and practices, a revised social studies curriculum from a cosmopolitan perspective has the potential to contribute to shaping our future.

Final Thoughts

When cosmopolitan education becomes more embedded in our school curricula and cosmopolitanism starts to win the hearts and minds of our teachers, students, parents, administrators, and curriculum developers, it paves the way for its advocacy by politicians. It could one day be enacted as a social policy that complements and fills the gaps created by the Multiculturalism Act (1988). Cosmopolitanism is not only about openness to other ways of life, accommodation of difference, and cultural rights; "it is a constructive process of creating new ways of thinking and acting" (Delanty, 2009, p. 252). It is more than a call for a co-existence among different cultures, but a "transformation in self-understanding" (Delanty, 2009, p. 76) that is essential for harmonious living in our increasingly diverse world. The current Canadian realities consist of historically marginalized Aboriginal peoples, Anglo-Saxon communities who feel insecure in the face of the forces of globalization, French Quebecers who fear loss of their identity, and immigrant groups who struggle for recognition and inclusion. Therefore, it is essential to steer our social, educational, and political policies towards cosmopolitanism in order to attain social cohesion based on mutual respect, ethical engagement in all our cross-cultural encounters, and the fulfillment of human rights.

This process is not without hurdles nor is it an end in itself, as many have rightly pointed out. Cosmopolitanism should be understood as a long-term transformative struggle across generations that will evidently wax and wane unpredictably in different regional contexts at different times and along numerous forms of contestations, contradictions, and ambiguity. As Appiah puts it, “cosmopolitanism is the name not of the solution but of the challenge” (2006, p. xv). I conclude that it is time to bridge the gap from multiculturalism into cosmopolitanism socially, educationally, and politically.

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Appendix A

Letter of Invitation to Participate

June 2015

Dear _____,

My name is Ghada Sfeir and I am a PhD candidate in the Department of Interdisciplinary Studies at the University of Saskatchewan. I am writing to invite you to participate in a research project titled *Bridging the Gap: Towards a Cosmopolitan Orientation in the Social Studies Curriculum in Saskatchewan High Schools*. I am the student researcher for this study and Professor Paul Orlowski is the principal investigator.

The purpose of this qualitative inquiry is to investigate to what extent the Social Studies curriculum in grades 9, 10, 11, and 12 in Saskatchewan high schools integrates or reflects cosmopolitan perspectives in an increasingly interconnected world. Cosmopolitan perspectives are most likely addressed when teaching for outcomes related to global citizenship. The study aims at identifying intersections and possible gaps in the Social Studies curriculum that might best prepare students to be active participants in establishing networks that build peaceful and inclusive relationships with each other. These relationships may be found along axes of gender, nationality, class, race, sexual orientation, religion, and so forth. The experiences of high school teachers with the Social Studies curriculum are an important contribution to this research project. I want to explore how you as a teacher understand the curriculum and its potential to shape the students' interconnected relationships in a diverse world. I have attached the set of interview questions for this study.

Should you decide to participate, your time commitment is not onerous: you will be interviewed only once between July 2015 and December 2015. The length of each interview will be between 60 and 90 minutes. The interview will be a face-to-face individual interview in a location chosen by you in Saskatoon or via Skype, if you would prefer. With your permission, the interview will be audio recorded. After the interview, you will be given the interview transcript for your verification. The collected data will be analyzed for a PhD dissertation.

If you decide that you would like to be part of this research, please note the following:

- You have the right to withdraw from the study without prejudice at any time up until you sign the Transcript Release Form.
- You may request the tape recorder to be turned off at anytime.
- I endeavor to ensure confidentiality and anonymity as much as possible. Therefore, you will be given a pseudonym. No verbatim comments or identifying information will be used.
- There are no known risks due to participation in this study.
- You will be given a copy of the interview transcript for your verification before returning a signed Transcript Release Form.
- You will receive an honorarium of \$15 for travel-related cost and acknowledgment of your participation in this study.
- Data may be used for publication in academic and professional journals or in presentations at academic and professional conferences.
- Once the dissertation is completed, you will be provided with its location after the University of Saskatchewan publishes it.

This study has been reviewed by, and received approval through the Research Ethics Office, University of Saskatchewan – see attachment.

For more information or to volunteer for this study, please do not hesitate to contact me at ghada.sfeir@usask.ca or Dr. Paul Orłowski at paul.orlowski@usask.ca.

Sincerely,

Ghada Sfeir
 Interdisciplinary Studies Department
 University of Saskatchewan
 (306) 652-4141
 Ghada.sfeir@usask.ca

Appendix B

Consent Form

Dear _____,

THANK YOU FOR AGREEING to participate in the research project titled *Bridging the Gap: Towards a Cosmopolitan Orientation in the Social Studies Curriculum in Saskatchewan High Schools*. Please read the form carefully and do not hesitate to ask any question you might have.

Purpose and Objective of the Research:

Your participation in this study will contribute to an understanding of the strengths and weaknesses of the Social Studies curriculum from a cosmopolitan perspective.

The purpose of this qualitative inquiry is to investigate to what extent the Social Studies curriculum in grades 9, 10, 11, and 12 in Saskatchewan high schools integrates or reflects cosmopolitan perspectives in an increasingly interconnected world. It aims at identifying the intersections and POSSIBLE gaps between the current Social Studies curriculum and cosmopolitan education. The experiences of high school teachers with the Social Studies curriculum are an important contribution to this research project. I want to explore how you as a teacher understand the curriculum and its potential to shape the students' interconnected relationships in a diverse world.

Procedures:

The study is a qualitative research and interviews are the method for data collection. Five Saskatchewan high school teachers of Social Studies are recruited as participants.

You will be interviewed once between June 2015 and December 2015. The length of each interview will be between 60 and 90 minutes. The interview will be a face-to-face individual interview in a location chosen by you in Saskatoon or via Skype, if you would prefer. With your permission, the interview will be audio recorded. After the interview, you will be given the transcript of the interview for your verification. The collected data will be analyzed for a PhD dissertation. Data might be also published in academic and professional journals or used in presentations in academic and professional conferences.

You may request that the audiotape be turned off at any time.

Should you wish to read the final dissertation, you will be provided with its location after the University of Saskatchewan publishes it.

Please feel free to ask any questions regarding the procedures and goals of the study or your role.

Potential Risks:

There are no known or anticipated risks to you by participating in this research. However, if the researcher suspects any potential harm to you, she will take immediate action to minimize the harm by stopping the interview and referring you to the proper resources, if needed.

You are asked not to share any information that you are not comfortable sharing. However, in case you disclose personal or confidential information, the researcher will delete the information from the data.

The researcher reserves the right to terminate your participation in the study after subsequent cancellations (three times) of the scheduled interview.

Potential Benefits:

The potential outcomes of the research are new insights into the Social Studies curriculum towards reinforcing the need to strive towards a harmonious living from a cosmopolitan perspective. The insights build on the current curriculum and are expected to contribute to its revision towards the inclusion of the tenets of cosmopolitanism for peaceful living in our interconnected world. The results are also expected to add new perspectives to your approach in teaching Social Studies. The research is also significant to the community as it aims to identify gaps in the curriculum that are essential to prepare students to be active participants in establishing networks and taking actions that guide their diverse interactions towards building peaceful and harmonious relationships with each other regardless of gender, origin, class, race, sexual orientation, and so forth. The research is also significant to curriculum developers, educators and policy makers who are interested in steering education towards more inclusive living that accounts to cosmopolitan sensibilities in an increasingly diverse and interconnected world.

Compensation:

You will receive an honorarium of \$15 for travel-related cost and acknowledgment of your participation in this study.

Confidentiality:

You understand that your participation in this study is:

- CONFIDENTIAL (i.e., the principal investigator and the student researcher will know, but will not disclose your identity)

- You understand that the research, in part or in whole, may be published or presented at conferences; however, your identity will be kept confidential. Although the researcher will report direct quotations from the interview, you will be given a pseudonym.
- Please note that there might be limitations on confidentiality due to the nature of recruitment. The participants are members of the same organization (SSS).

Therefore, the researcher will endeavor to ensure to the best of her ability confidentiality and anonymity. No verbatim comments or any identifying information will be used that could compromise confidentiality or anonymity and put at risk your ability to successfully perform your professional duties or interfere with your personal quality of life. No group emails will be sent to the participants. All emails between the participants and myself will be on a one-to-one basis.

Storage of Data:

The principal investigator and the student researcher are responsible for the data storage and have access to it.

The tapes, the hard copies of the transcripts of the data, and the interview recordings on a USB will be stored for five years in a locked cabinet in the office of the principal investigator Professor Paul Orlowski. All data are also stored on the student researcher laptop secured by a password. They are also stored as a backup on the University of Saskatchewan secure Cabinet on PAWS. As well, consent forms, emails, email addresses and master list are stored separate from the data on the University of Saskatchewan secure Cabinet on PAWS and in a locked cabinet in the office of the principal investigator. The transcripts of the data will not be saved on any online site. The consent form, email addresses, and the master list will be destroyed upon completion of data collection. After five years, all data are completely destroyed.

Right to Withdraw:

Your participation is voluntary and you can answer only those questions that you are comfortable with.

You may withdraw from the research project for any reason, at any time without explanation or penalty of any sort.

You will be given the opportunity to review the interview transcript to add, alter, or delete information from the transcript as you see fit. Then you will be given a Transcript Release Form to sign to allow the researcher to use the data.

Your right to withdraw data from the study will apply until you have verified and signed the Transcript Release Form. After that date, it is possible that some form of research dissemination will have already occurred and it may not be possible to withdraw your data.

Follow up:

Once the dissertation is completed and accepted by the University of Saskatchewan, You will receive an email indicating the location of the dissertation and the way you can access it.

Questions or Concerns:

This research project has been approved on ethical grounds by the University of Saskatchewan Research Ethics Board. Any questions regarding your rights as a participant may be addressed to this Board through the Research Ethics Office at ethics.office@usask.ca or (306) 966-2975. Out of town participants may call toll free (888) 966-2975. You may also contact the principal investigator Professor Paul Orlowski or the student researcher Ghada Sfeir. Their contact information is available on the last page of this form.

Consent:

Option 1- SIGNED CONSENT

Your signature below indicates that you have read and understood the description provided in this Consent Form:

I, the participant, have had an opportunity to ask questions and my questions have been answered. I consent to participate in the research project, understanding that I may withdraw at any time up until I sign the transcript of my interview. I will keep a copy of this Consent Form for my records.

Name of Participant

Signature

Date

Researcher's Signature

Date

A copy of this consent will be left with you, and a copy will be taken by the researcher.

Option 2 – ORAL CONSENT

I, the researcher, read and explained this Consent Form to the participant before receiving the participant's consent, and the participant had knowledge of its contents and appeared to understand it. In addition, consent may be audio or videotaped.

Name of Participant

Researcher's Signature

Date

Researcher:

Ghada Sfeir, PhD Candidate

Interdisciplinary Studies Department

University of Saskatchewan

Phone: (306) 652-4141

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Appendix C

Interview Protocol

Project: Bridging the Gap: Towards a Cosmopolitan Orientation in the Social Studies Curriculum in Saskatchewan High Schools

Time of interview: One interview, between 60 and 90 minutes

Date:

Place: Various locations

Interviewer: Ghada Sfeir

Interviewee:

The purpose of this qualitative inquiry is to investigate to what extent the Social Studies curriculum in grades 9, 10, 11, and 12 in Saskatchewan high schools integrates or reflects cosmopolitan perspectives in an increasingly interconnected world. It aims to identify the intersections and gaps between the current Social Studies curriculum and cosmopolitan education. The experiences of high school teachers with the Social Studies curriculum are an important contribution to this research project.

Data will be stored securely to protect the confidentiality of the responses. Interviewees are given pseudonyms to protect their anonymity.

The interview will take approximately one hour.

Participants will sign the consent form.

Each participant will receive a \$15 voucher.

Interview Questions:

Note to Participants: The order of questions may change, depending on the flow of the conversation.

1. Can you give a summary of your teaching, including the grades you have taught? Can you expand on your experiences teaching social studies?
2. How would you define multiculturalism? How do you teach about multiculturalism?
3. Can you give your interpretation of global citizenship?

4. How would you teach about the concept of human rights? Do you refer to the Canadian Charter of Rights in Canada's constitution? (Why or why not?)
5. Describe how you teach about Aboriginal rights in Social Studies? (Probe: Is it related to Treaties? If so, in what ways?)
6. How would you teach about poverty? Do you look at poverty from a global perspective? If so, can you talk about what is a global perspective?
7. Describe how you teach about the rights of women? If so, how do you do that?
8. Can you describe your beliefs on whether recent immigrants to Canada should conform to the values of Canadian society? (If so, which values do you think are the most important for immigrants to embrace?)
9. Can you describe your opinion about the Social Studies curriculum for the grade(s) you teach? Do you think the curriculum adequately addresses concerns about human rights? If not, do you adapt the curriculum so that it does? How so?
10. What does the term *cosmopolitanism* mean to you?
11. What concerns do you have surrounding tensions that may arise when you address cultural or social issues? If so, which ones?
12. Discuss the adequacy of content in support for global citizenship. Do you believe it should do more? If so, do you or would you supplement the curriculum?
13. Do you feel that Canada is a welcoming country for people arriving here from other countries? Explain. Do you believe that the country of origin is a factor in how welcome a newcomer is made to feel? Explain.

Note: Thank the interviewees and give assurances of the confidentiality of the responses.

Appendix D

Transcript Release Form

Title: *Bridging the Gap: Towards a Cosmopolitan Orientation in the Social Studies Curriculum in Saskatchewan High Schools*

I, _____, have reviewed the complete transcript of my personal interview in this study, and have been provided with the opportunity to add, alter, and delete information from the transcript as appropriate. I acknowledge that the transcript accurately reflects what I said in my personal interview with _____. I hereby authorize the release of this transcript to _____ to be used in the manner described in the Consent Form. I have received a copy of this Data/Transcript Release Form for my own records.

_____ Name of Participant

_____ Signature of Participant

_____ Date

_____ Signature of Researcher